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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXIII.



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCLXVII.

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LONDON:
T. RICHARDS 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.

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The principal points in relation to the History and Antiquities of these several places, will be found in the volumes of the JOURNAL. The JOURNALS already published are at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other Officers of the Association.

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Vol. XI, and the subsequent volumes, are furnished with double titles, and thus rendered independent of the previous volumes, if so desired, by such as do not possess the complete series.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER, are charged to the public £1. 11s. 6d., to the Members £1. 1s.

In addition to the JOURNAL, published regularly every quarter, and profusely illustrated, it has been found necessary, from the number of communications received and constantly accumulating, to publish occasionally another work, entitled "COLLECTANEA ARCHEOLOGICA." It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The associates—such as shall be approved of, and elected by, the council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee,³ and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of officers and committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the president or a patron; or of two members of the council; or of four associates.
4. The honorary foreign members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners, who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association, there shall be annually elected a President, ten⁴ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for foreign correspondence; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of officers and council shall be on the second Wednesday⁵ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall con-

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the lists of members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ The entrance fee will not be demanded until five hundred associates are enrolled.

⁴ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

tinue open during one hour. Every associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President, or presiding officer, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the general meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of the Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the council; and, having his accounts audited by two members elected at the annual general meeting, shall lay them before the annual meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for foreign correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time, by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notice of such meeting to every member.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connexion.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connexion with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the annual meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at half-past eight o'clock in the evening precisely,¹ for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the united kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council; and to which associates, correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, and the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings.

BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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LUDLOW, 1867,

JULY 29TH TO AUGUST 3RD INCLUSIVE.



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"

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On the History of the Fitz Warines.

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Extracts from, and Remarks upon, Early

Churchwardens' Accounts of Ludlow.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., Somerset Herald, On the Family of Mortimer.

T. F. DILLON CROKER, Esq., On the Masque of Comus.

THE REV. G. F. TOWNSEND, On Mediæval Instruments of Popular Punishment preserved in Leominster and Ludlow.

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GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., On the Saxon Church at Stanton Lacy.

THE REV. J. D. LA TOUCHE, On Stokesay Castle.

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E. ROBERTS, Esq., F.S.A., On Burford and Tenbury Churches.

GEORGE COCKING, Esq., On the Remains of the Austin Friary at Ludlow.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., On Sir Philip Sydney.

REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, On Roman Itinera connected with Wales.

J. T. IRVINE, Esq., On Diddlebury Church.

W. WAINCOB, Esq., On the True Antiquity of Weapons ascribed to a Geological Era.

British Archaeological Association.

LUDLOW, 1867.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS.

MONDAY, JULY 29.

The Members will meet at the Guildhall at 4 p.m., when the general course of business of the Congress will be announced. Afterwards the Antiquities of the Town will be visited. At 6.30 p.m., a Public Dinner will be held, the Association will be received by the Mayor and Corporation, and the President will deliver his Inaugural Address.

TUESDAY, JULY 30.

Excursion to the Ancient Remains on the Summit of the Titterstone Clee Hill.—Bitterley.—Middleton Chapel, and to Downton Hall, where the Members will be entertained by the President.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31.

Examination of Ludlow Castle and Church.—Ludford.—At two p.m., the Members will be entertained by the Corporation. An afternoon excursion may be made to Caynham Camp, Whitton Park, and Whitton Chapel.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 1.

Excursion to Tenbury and Burford, Entertainment at Burford Park by Lord Northwick.—Examination of Little Hereford Church, etc.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2.

Excursion to Aston Church and Ancient Tumuli.—Wigmore Castle.—Wigmore Abbey.—Brandon Camp (supposed site of the Roman *Bravinium*).—Downton Castle; reception by Andrew Boughton Knight, Esq.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3.

Excursion to Stanton Lacy.—Diddlebury Church.—Norton Camp.—Stokesay Castle.—Reception by Lady Mary Clive, and Luncheon at Oakley Park.—Bromfield Church and Abbey.—Norman Church at the Heath.

Evening Meetings each day at 8.30. p.m., at the Assembly Rooms, for the Reading of Papers and Discussions.

On Monday, August 5th, as many of the Members and Visitors as remain are invited to take part in a visit, under the guidance of Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., to Wroxeter (the Roman *Uriconium*), where it is hoped that some new parts of the ancient city will then have been laid open.

On Tuesday, August 6th, the Caradoc Field Club invites the Archeological Association to join in an Excursion to the Valley of Clun, the Bury Ditches, Clun Castle, and Offa's Dyke.



Some alterations may be made in the previous sketch of proceedings, and should time permit, other objects will be visited during the Excursions. PROGRAMMES FOR EACH DAY, containing full and precise directions, will, however, be regularly issued, to prevent the occurrence of any mistakes.

The Papers and Addresses will be given according to circumstances, either at the Evening Meetings or at the places to which they refer. The Council will be glad to receive communications, more especially from residents in the neighbourhood of the Congress, who may be disposed to aid in the objects of the Meeting.

Table d'Hôte, as occasion may require, at the Feathers Hotel, Ludlow, at half-past Six p.m., to which Ladies are respectfully invited.

Tickets of admission, One Guinea each, for the entire Congress, admitting a Lady and Gentleman, or a Lady's Ticket, at Half-a-Guinea, may be obtained in London, either by letter or personal application to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 37, Thistle Grove, Brompton; and of the Honorary Secretaries; also of the Local Treasurer, AMBROSE GROUNDS, Esq., Ludford; and the Hon. Local Secretary, Rev. W. C. SPARROW, Ludlow. Each Ticket will confer the right to be present at the Meetings, and to attend all the Soirées, Excursions, etc., which may be arranged for the Members of the Association. It must be produced at the several places of examination or entertainment.

DONATIONS in aid of the Congress, and of the Illustration of the Antiquities of the neighbourhood, as well as Subscriptions from those who may be desirous of becoming Associates, may be paid either to the General or Local Treasurer and Secretaries. Donations of Two Guineas entitle the Donors to receive the volume of the year, and every £2 : 2 additional ensures the continuance of the privilege for a year.

* * * Arrangements will be made with the Directors of the Railways to suit the convenience of the Associates and Visitors.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843 to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution, by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object, are,—

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the Kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in Foreign Countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the progress of Public Works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, &c.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of correspondents preserving authentic memorials of all Antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public meetings are held on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month during the season, at half-past eight o'clock in the Evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of the objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter, to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 37, Thistle Grove, Brompton, to whom Subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the parts of the *COLLECTANEA ARCHEOLOGICA* at a reduced price.

THE CONGRESSES HITHERTO HELD, HAVE BEEN IN

1844	CANTERBURY,	under the Presidency of	
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THE EARLS OF SUSSEX.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

IN continuation of the series of papers I have had the pleasure of contributing to the Society, illustrative of the genealogy and armorial bearings of those powerful Norman chieftains on whom the Conqueror, from gratitude or policy, bestowed the earldoms of the fair counties in which we have for two-and-twenty years in turn assembled, I now propose to lay before you, in as brief and concise a manner as possible, a list of the Earls of Sussex from the first appearance of that title to the death of Hugh de Albini,¹ fifth Earl of that family, when the earldom escheated to the crown, and remained dormant till the reign of Henry VIII, at which period the subject ceases to have interest for the archæologist.

I shall preface this paper by a few observations on the title of earl, for it is precisely in this county that a fact occurred which has given rise to considerable discussion—and, I venture to suggest, without a perfectly satisfactory result—respecting the constitution of an earldom in the days immediately following the Conquest.

The title of earl does not appear to have indicated originally any particular local authority. The “jarls” or “eorls” of the Northmen, the “comptes” or “counts” of the Franks and the later Normans, were men of the highest rank under

¹ Written also “Albeni” and “Albany”, but more correctly “Aubigny”, from the town of that name in France.

the king, duke, or sovereign prince of whom they were the feudatories. But their dignity and office differed in many respects from those of their Anglo-Norman successors. The word *comes*, by which the title of earl was rendered in Latin, was derived, says Bracton, from the possessor being the *comes* or *socius* of the king, and associated with him in the general government of the realm, and therefore the dignity and office of his earldom extended throughout the kingdom; and we consequently find, both in Normandy and England, previously to the Conquest, noblemen with the title of count or earl prefixed to their Christian names, unaccompanied by any local designation, at the same time that they are described as seigneurs or lords of certain fiefs held by them of their sovereign, and are sometimes called earls of the principal city or castle on their estates in which they generally resided; so that the earl of such a place is frequently found to be only the earl *at* such a place. Subsequently, under the Norman rule in England, the creation of an earl was by investiture with a sword,—a ceremony performed by the sovereign himself,—accompanied by the grant of the third penny of the pleas of the county from which the title was taken.

Now the first earl connected with this county was that great Norman nobleman, Roger de Montgomery, who, though he was not present at the battle of Hastings, as erroneously stated by nearly all our most popular writers (being left by Duke William in charge of the duchy of Normandy during his absence), furnished a liberal contingent of ships and men to the invading forces.

In 1067, the Conqueror having established himself on the English throne, passed over to Normandy, whence he returned, after a short stay, with his queen, Matilda; and it was on this occasion that he was accompanied by Roger de Montgomery, whom he is said to have first made Earl of Arundel, and subsequently Earl of Shrewsbury. Here, then, we have one of the most early instances of the title of earl being derived apparently from, or attached to, a small town, not even the principal city in the county; and what is more remarkable, although we find him occasionally styled Earl of Chichester, the title of Arundel appears to be the one originally conferred upon him; and the name and dignity of Earl of Arundel was solemnly decided, in the reign of

Henry VI, to belong to the possessor of the Castle of Arundel, the tenure of which was determined to constitute the earldom without any other form, patent, or creation whatsoever.

With respect to the title of Chichester, there is no authority for stating that Roger de Montgomery ever so styled himself; but Vincent, in his able discovery of Brooke's errors, speaking of William de Albini, first Earl of Arundel of that family, says: "Sometimes this William lived at Chichester, the prime city in Sussex, of which county he had *tertium denarium*. Then was he styled earl thereof; otherwhiles at Arundel, and had his title accordingly"; and supports this view of the case by shewing that the Earl of Pembroke was sometimes called Earl of Chepstow; William Earl of Gloucester, Earl of Bristol; Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, Earl of Tutbury, etc.; because they were their principal places of residence, as I have before observed was the practice at this period. There was, however, another reason for the use of the title of Chichester by William de Albini, which I shall mention in its proper place.

Of Roger de Montgomery, first Earl of Arundel, and his issue, I have discoursed fully in my account of the Earls of Shrewsbury, read at our Congress in that city, and published in the first volume of our *Collectanea*. I shall therefore limit my notice of him here to the few facts which connect him with this county. In the great survey known as *Domesday*, we have a minute account of his possessions in Sussex, consisting of seventy-seven manors, under the head of "the territory of Earl Roger" (no local title, observe, attached to him); and we find that in 1086, the year of the completion of the survey, the city of Chichester was in his custody; that it contained one hundred and fifty-eight houses, being sixty more than in the time of King Edward the Confessor. There were also three crofts and a mill, of the annual rental of five shillings. The ancient rental of the whole city was fifteen pounds,—ten pounds to the king, and one hundred shillings (or five pounds) to the earl; probably Earl Godwin. In Earl Roger's time the estimate was twenty-five pounds, the produce thirty-five. The same invaluable record informs us that the Castle of Arundel, in the time of King Edward, yielded forty shillings for a mill, twenty shillings for three entertainments, and twenty shillings for a



"pasty," which has been suggested to mean a herring-pie, as Yarmouth paid for a thousand herrings for the see of Chichester in the time of Henry II. We see, therefore, that there was a castle at Arundel in Saxon times; and it is asserted that the gift of this castle and honours to Roger de Montgomery constituted him earl thereof. But he had also the custody of the city of Chichester for the king; and if he received a third of the rental, as the earl did in the time of King Edward, it is a revenue so similar to that of the *tertium denarium*, or third penny of the pleas, enjoyed by the earls of counties, and without which grant the greatest authorities have denied that a man could be an English earl, that we may really see in it some reason, if not some positive right, for styling him the earl *of* as well as *at* Chichester. The Rev. Alexander Hay, in his *History of Chichester* (8vo., 1804), says: "He (Earl Roger) was truly Earl of Sussex as he had '*tertium denarium de placitis comitatus*,' the third penny of the pleas of the county"; but he does not quote his authority for this assertion, and I have not found any such record, or met with any contemporary document, in which he is styled Earl of Sussex. It is also worthy of remark that William de Warren, who in the *Domesday Book* is stated to hold the borough of Lewes and Rape of Pevensey, and to receive a third of all forfeitures, produce, and emoluments, due to the king, in like manner as Earl Roger at Chichester, is never styled earl, but simply William de Warren: so that the note of the reverend translators of the *Actual Survey of South Britain*, "consequently William de Warren was Earl of Lewes, if not of Sussex," is an assumption unsupported by any testimony whatever.

Roger de Montgomery, first Earl of Arundel, died 8th of William Rufus, and was succeeded by his second son, Hugh de Montgomery, in all his English honours and possessions; his eldest son, Robert, becoming Comte de Belesme, in Normandy, as heir to his mother Mabel, daughter and heir of William Talvas, and inheriting also the large estates of his father in the same duchy. And here I must observe that, as the Countess Mabel died before her husband (who married, secondly, Alice daughter of Everard de Pusace), Roger de Montgomery was Comte de Belesme, and would have been styled Earl independently of his English honours of Arundel and Shrewsbury, as were Robert Earl of Mortain,

Eustace Earl of Boulogne, William Earl of Eu, and several others.

Hugh de Montgomery, second Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, called "the Red," enjoyed his honours but for a brief period. Four years after his accession to them, he was slain by an arrow from the bow of Magnus, king of Norway, in an engagement on the coast of the Isle of Anglesey; and having no issue, his elder brother, Robert, Comte de Belesme, paid King William II £3,000 (a very considerable sum at that period) for all the English honours, and was given seizin of them. Rebelling against Henry I, he was besieged by that monarch in his city of Shrewsbury, compelled to surrender, allowed free passage to Normandy, where his turbulent conduct caused him to be arrested in 1112, and he eventually died a prisoner at Wareham in Dorsetshire, leaving behind him the following very unenviable reputation,—“Christian history,” says a contemporary historian, “does not exhibit his equal in wickedness.” By his treason, all his English honours and possessions became forfeit to the crown; and the castle and honour of Arundel were bestowed in dower on Adeliza, queen of Henry I, who married, secondly, William de Albini or d'Aubigny, son of William Pincerna (so called from the office of hereditary butler to the kings of England on the day of their coronation) by Maud, daughter of Roger Bigot.

To this William de Albini, who, I presume, became Earl of Arundel in right of his wife, the queen dowager, by the tenure of the Castle of Arundel, Henry II confirmed the title and honour by a grant undated, but recited in a charter of *inspeximus* by Edward I, quoted by Vincent in his corrections of Brooke; and by the same instrument in which he gives “to William Earl of Arundel the Castle of Arundel, with the whole honour of Arundel and all its appurtenances,” he also bestows on him the third penny of the pleas of Sussex, of which he is the Earl (“unde comes est”); all which honours and privileges the said William is to enjoy, as did King Henry, the donor's grandfather, when they were in his possession. That this was a confirmation, and not an original grant, as some writers have represented it, is clear from the fact that this William de Albini styles himself Earl of Sussex in witnessing a charter in the time of King Stephen, to the Abbey of Barking in Essex,—“testibus Ma-

tilda regina & Willi'mo Comite de Sussexa." (Confirmation charter, Patent Roll, 2 Henry VI; Vincent's MS. "Trefoil," p. 360.) So that he must have been made Earl either by Henry I or Stephen.

We have, therefore, here undoubtedly an Earl of Sussex as well as of Arundel, and perhaps Chichester (for so he styles himself in some charters), but leaving us still in the dark whether the latter title was derived from residence in that city, receipt of one third of its rental, or, as Selden tells us in his *Titles of Honour*, simply from the fact that the county of Sussex was sometimes called the county of Chichester. Be this as it may, it would appear that the earldom of Arundel was the favourite honour, or at least the one by which he was best known; for in the Register of the Priory of Bromhale, we find the record of his death under the date of the 4th day of October, 22nd of Henry II (A.D. 1176), in the following words, "obijt Willielmus Comes Arundel" (no mention of Sussex or Chichester), "et sepultus est in prioratus de Wymondham." His son William also, who succeeded him, and does style himself Earl of Sussex, only speaks of his father as Earl of Arundel in a charter to the same priory,—“Willielmus Comes Sussexia omnibus, etc. . . . pro anima Willielmi Comitis Arundelli patris mei.”

Before dismissing the first William de Albini, Earl of Arundel and Sussex, and by way of relief to the dryness of a genealogical investigation, I will relate to you, in the words of that “best abused” amongst officers of arms, Master Brooke, York Herald, an absurd legend invented, no doubt, to account for the lion rampant in the arms presumed to have been borne by the husband of Queen Adeliza: “I find written of this William, that at a just held at Paris, he behaved himself so valiantly that the Queen Dowager of France fell in love with him, and desired him in marriage; which he refused, saying that before that he had given his word and faith unto another lady in England; which denial the said queen took in evil part, and thereupon practised to get him into a cave in her garden, where she had caused a lion to be put to devour him; which, when he saw, he furiously set upon him, thrusting his arm into the lion’s mouth, pulling out his tongue; which done, he conveyed himself into England, and performed his promise to Queen Ælidis. In token of which noble and valiant act, this William assumed to have for his

arms a lion *gold* in a field *gules*, which his successors ever since have continued."

Upon this story, poor Master Brooke's opponent, the acute but virulent Vincent, makes the following observations:—"Lastly, to his tale of the *Ly-on*, methinks it is a very pretty one to pass time withall. I have heard the like of one that, thrusting his arm in at the mouth (of the lion), took him by the tail, and turned him the wrong side outwards. But, good Master York, are you sure your tale is true? I ask because you say, 'in token of this noble act, this William assumed for his arms a lion *gold* in a field *gules*, which have ever since been continued to his posterity.' Now if you have not good authority, and cannot shew a better voucher for it than your own bare word, whosoever doubts of the tale will be as ready to doubt of the coat. But surely I hope those honourable personages whom here you have out-talked will not be talked out of their arms as the lion is of his tongue."

Vincent contents himself with this contemptuous note, and does not, as in some other instances, refer us to more authentic sources of information. As William Earl of Arundel died as late as October 1176, it is possible he may have used armorial insignia; but it is most likely that the lion was first borne by his son and successor. In either case, however, I believe the lion to have been assumed in consequence of the marriage of the earl with the widow of King Henry I, in whose reign we have the earliest authentic evidence of golden lions being adopted as a personal decoration, if not strictly an heraldic bearing.

To return to our genealogy. William de Albin, second Earl of Sussex, married Maud, daughter of James de St. Hilary, and widow of Roger Earl of Clare,¹ and was confirmed in the dignity of Earl of Sussex by King Henry II in the twenty-second year of his reign (1176-77). Three years afterwards, in the 26th of Henry II (1180), the honour of Arundel was in the crown for some unexplained reason, and Walter de Constantine renders an account for it; but it was restored to William de Albin certainly by Richard I in the first year of his reign, when he gives to Earl William "Castellum de Arundel" and also "tertius denarius de Sussex." In the charter we have already quoted he styles himself Earl of

¹ Roger de Clare died 19th of Henry II (1173).

Sussex, and mentions his father, William Earl of Arundel; his mother, Queen Ethelidis; and his grandfather, William Pincerna; the charter being witnessed by his son, William de Albini; his wife, the Countess Matilda; and Regnier, his brother,—very valuable genealogical information, which has been singularly neglected by Banks, who confounds the father with the grandfather, while he repeats unhesitatingly the ridiculous story of the lion. Worse than this, he omits a whole generation, and confounds the second earl with the fourth; preferring to follow Dugdale, who is very untrustworthy in these matters, to the more accurate Camden and “other authorities,” including, I must presume, Augustine Vincent. The first batch of blunders he would have escaped had he consulted the charters to Wymondham Abbey. Amongst them he would have found the following very important and lucid pedigree contained in the charter of Roger Rustein to that abbey, whose benefaction is averred to be made “for the soul’s health of William Pincerna, founder of the church of St. Mary of Wymondham, and for that of William, his son, my lord, *the first earl*; and for that of William, his son, my lord, *the second earl*; also for that of William, his son, my lord, *the third earl*, and that of Mabilia his wife.”

Nothing could prove more clearly that William de Albini, *pincerna*, or butler, to King Henry I, was never earl, as he makes him; that his son William, the husband of the queen dowager of England, was the first of that rank; that *his* son William was the second; and *his* son William, to whom we have now arrived, and who married Mabel, daughter of Hugh Kevilioe, Earl of Chester, was the third earl of the house of Albini.

This William de Albini, third Earl of Sussex, succeeded his father in 1196 or 1199, and had issue by his countess, Mabel, two sons, William and Hugh; the second named evidently after his maternal grandfather; a daughter named Maud after her grandmother, who married William, sixth Earl of Warren; died, without issue, February 6th, 1215, and was buried in the Chapter House at Lewes; also four other daughters, who eventually became coheirs of their younger brother Hugh. The earl died in Italy, on his return from the Holy Land, A.D. 1221, and was succeeded by William de Albini, fourth Earl of Sussex, who is called in a

charter of King John, not Earl of Arundel, but "William de Arundel, Earl of Sussex." In his father's confirmation charter to Robertsbridge, this William signs himself son to the third Earl of Sussex; and in a charter, 12th of King Henry III (1228), he is called "*Willielmus Comes Sussex quartus*." He died young and unmarried,¹ 18th Henry III (1234), and was succeeded by his brother, Hugh de Albini, fifth Earl of Sussex, then a minor; William Earl of Warren, his brother-in-law, being bound with him in five hundred marks when he paid for his brother's lands in that year. Nor was he of age in 1236, for the same Earl of Warren performed his hereditary office of chief butler of England on the occasion of Henry III's marriage with Eleanor of Provence. But although not of age, he was married before that period; for in the seventeenth year of that king's reign (1233), the same Earl of Warren gave three hundred marks for the right to marry him to Isabel, his daughter by his second wife, Matilda Mareschal, widow of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. There was no issue, however, from this match, and Hugh de Albini died, still in the prime of youth, in 1243, leaving four surviving sisters,—Mabilia, wife of Sir Robert Tateshall; Nicholea, wife of Sir Roger de Somery; Cicely, wife of Roger de Monthalt; and Isabel, widow of John Fitz Alan, lord of Clun and Oswestry, to whom, on partition of the estates, was apportioned the castle and honour of Arundel, to which the earldom of Arundel is said to have been appendant. Her son, John Fitzalan, died during her lifetime (52nd of Henry III), leaving by his wife Maud, daughter of Roesia de Verdon, a son also named John, who survived his father only two years, leaving by his wife, Isabel de Mortimer, a son named Richard, an infant five years of age.

Banks and others make this Richard the third Earl of Arundel of the family of Fitz Alan; but it is a question if he were not the first. Here commences the great squabble between the contending authorities, to which I alluded at the beginning of this paper; and not only do doctors differ from each other, but Vincent (the "*Magnus Apollo*" of gene-

¹ Both he and his father appear to have been confounded, by several writers, with another William de Albini of that branch, called Brito, from whom the Dukes of Rutland are descended, and who held the manor of Offington in Lincolnshire, where our William de Albini, Earl of Sussex, is erroneously stated by Brooke to have died.

alogists), for a wonder, actually contradicts himself,—a fact I can only account for by presuming that the spirit of contradiction, of which he was the incarnation, had so possessed him at that moment, that he mistook himself for somebody else. Speaking of William de Albini, first Earl of Sussex, he tells us that the titles of Chichester and Arundel were given to him simply because “sometimes this William lived at Chichester, the prime city in Sussex, of which county he had *tertium denarium*,—then was he styled earl thereof; otherwhiles at Arundel, and had his titles accordingly”; and then, when he comes to this Richard Fitz Alan, he says,—“Now for the title of Arundel, because it was appendant to the Castle of Arundel, and that the castle and seigniorie of Arundel fell by partition to Isabel’s issue, Earl Hugh’s second sister, as one of his heirs, and now descended to this Richard Fitz Alan. He became Earl of Arundel by reason of the possession, and not by any other creation, as by and by shall at large be shewed, but he never had that earldom of Sussex.”

We have here, therefore, two distinct opinions,—the first being that the title of Arundel was derived simply from residence; and the second, that it was appendant to the honour, the possession of which conveyed the dignity of an earl to the person seized of it. The question, as I stated at the commencement of my paper, is still by no means decided. Evidence of considerable weight can be produced on both sides of the question. On the one hand you have seen that from the time of Roger de Montgomery, the possessors of the Castle of Arundel have been, in all charters down to the time of King John, styled Earls of Arundel, when we find William de Albany, fourth earl of that name, styled “William de Arundel, Earl of Sussex.” We have also the solemn decision of Parliament in the time of Henry VI, already alluded to, in favour of this earldom by tenure. Yet in the recent elaborate discussion of the title of Arundel by the Lords’ Committee, in their reports upon the dignity of a peer, it has been doubted whether even the earldom of Arundel was ever possessed by the family of Albini as a title of dignity; and my lamented predecessor, William Courthope, Esq., Somerset Herald, a Sussex man, and an eminent authority on such matters, says, in his *Historical Peerage*, that “it will perhaps ever remain questionable,” and that “the assertion made upon the claim of John Earl of Arundel

(*temp.* H. VI), that the dignity of Earl of Arundel had been constantly and invariably enjoyed by the lords of the Castle of Arundel, cannot, under any circumstances, be maintained." In proof of this he advances that "Hugh de Albeni, brother and heir of William de Albeni, died *sine prole*, 1243; and to John Fitz Alan, lord of Clun and Oswaldstree, son of John Fitz Alan by Isabel de Albeni, second daughter of William, third Earl, was awarded the castle and manors of Arundel by a writ dated 27th of November following; but although he lived till 1268, twenty-three years after the partition, he never had the title of Earl of Arundel, and is expressly called "Dominus de Arundel," or lord of the honour of Arundel, in an *inspeximus* of the 2nd of Edward I (1273-74), and in several other instruments is ranked amongst the barons of the kingdom. In the inquisition taken on his decease (52 H. VIII), John "fil. Domini Johannis Alani" (John, the son of *Lord* John Alan) is found to be his heir. This John Fitz Alan was aged twenty-two years at his father's decease, and was never known as Earl of Arundel; and it is incredible that if he had ever borne the title, as annexed to the castle and honour, the fact would have been omitted in the inquisition which finds him to have died seized of them, 56th Henry III (1272), and held by the *fourth part of a barony*. I must qualify the expression, "never known," by adding "during his lifetime," as in a patent of the 35 of Edward I (1341), in reference to Edmond Fitz Alan, son of Richard Earl of Arundel, and who was beheaded at Hereford in 1326, we find the words, "sub nomine Johanni filii Alani quondam Comitis Arundellie antecessoris prefatis Edmundi," which is certainly an acknowledgment, however late, that Edmund's grandfather, John Fitz Alan, was Earl of Arundel. But even with this qualification it is certainly a very formidable objection to surmount, and I can only offer one suggestion in solution of the mystery. Isabella de Albini, the widow of Hugh Earl of Arundel and Sussex, outlived both her son and her grandson, dying as late as 1282, and appears to have been always styled Countess of Arundel. Now Richard Fitz Alan, her great-grandson, son and heir of the last John, aged five years at his father's death in 1272, appears to have become Earl of Arundel between the 17th and 20th of Edward I (1289-92); at all events he was, according to Glover,—a most care-



ful and learned genealogist of the time of Elizabeth,—knighted in the former year, having first become of age, and received the sword of the county of Sussex from King Edward I, “*ut vocatur comes.*” If Glover has stated this upon good authority, which all who know his character will feel confident to be the case, it disproves Vincent’s assertion that Richard Fitz Alan never had the county of Sussex, at the same time that it is in favour of the title of Earl of Arundel having never been enjoyed by, or allowed to, any one during the lifetime of Isabella Countess of Arundel, notwithstanding that both her son and her grandson were in turn seized of the castle and honour.

To return to the earldom of Sussex, which on the death of Hugh de Albini escheated to the crown. It is a curious fact that it is precisely in the same year that the Countess Isabella, his widow, died, viz. 1282, that we first find her brother, John Plantagenet, or De Warren, styled Earl of Sussex; and he was receiving writs so directed to him at the same time that King Edward I is said by Glover to have bestowed the county upon Richard Fitz Alan. The earldom of Sussex must have been at this time a subject of contention between the De Warrens and Fitz Alans; and the claim of John de Warren, fifth Earl of Surrey, one of the most powerful nobles of his time, to the earldom of Sussex, may have operated as the cause that induced Richard Fitz Alan to abandon any claim that he might have had upon that title, and to adopt that of Earl of Arundel, for it is only two years subsequent to this period that we find writs to him so addressed.

John de Warren, sixth Earl of Surrey, grandson and heir, being son and heir of William eldest son of the last earl, who died during the lifetime of his father, had also several writs directed to him as Earl of Surrey and Sussex; but it is not clear that either of these De Warrens was ever actually earl of this county. Vincent considers that the error occurred from the counties of Surrey and Sussex being at that time under one sheriff, who, having to pay to the earl the third penny of the pleas of the county of Surrey, he was commonly considered earl of both counties. This John Earl of Warren and Surrey died, without issue, in 1347; and from that date, at all events, we hear of no claim or pretension to the earldom of Sussex, which remained dormant until

revived by Henry VIII in the person of Robert Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, Knight of the Garter, who was created Earl of Sussex by that sovereign, at Whitehall, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

Here, as I premised, my task concludes. It is needless to record what may be found accurately set down in all historical peerages. It is with the errors and confusions which abound in the early portions of the pedigrees of our Anglo-Norman nobility, and which, until the establishment of associations like the parent one,—which has now the honour and pleasure of holding its twenty-third Congress in this ancient and most interesting town (Hastings), and, amongst its many thriving and industrious children, looks with particular pride and affection upon the Sussex Archæological Society,—have been repeated without examination by writer after writer from Dugdale to De Bret. To the spirit of critical inquiry which the first meeting of this Society at Canterbury awakened, and which the numerous metropolitan and provincial branches have so fostered and stimulated, we owe the most valuable corrections of long-cherished errors, and a constant contribution of interesting facts of the greatest importance to our national history. The contempt into which a few Cockletops and Dryasdusts of the past century had unfortunately brought the study of antiquities, has vanished before the serious and intellectual labour of modern archæologists. When that great actor and good scholar, John Kemble, was asked by the late Mr. Francis Douce, why he did not reform more strictly the dresses and scenery of the plays of Shakespeare, he answered with almost an accent of terror, “Why, if I did, sir, they would take me for an antiquary!” What he shrank from then as tantamount to a disgrace, were he now living, I feel confident he would court as an honour.

ANTIQUITIES OF HASTINGS.

BY T. H. COLE, ESQ., M.A.

THE history of Hastings has been given by many writers. It is noticed briefly by Camden and Grose, and is described in Horsfield's *Sussex*. The interesting information regarding it, scattered through the volumes of the Sussex Archæological Association, has been carefully examined by the accomplished authoress of *Brampton Rectory*, and made available in her *Hand-Book for Hastings*, to which is appended a very valuable list of authorities; and Mr. Ross's *Guide-Book to Hastings* is enriched with the results of his own local researches. It is not my intention to compete with these historians, but simply to elucidate, so far as I am able, some points in its history acknowledged to be doubtful, or which appear to have been overlooked.

The line of coast from the chalk cliffs of Beachy Head to those of Folkestone, consists of marsh lands, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Hastings, where the great Wealden ridge terminates in bold cliffs extending some five or six miles along the sea. In the sixteenth century we are told that, "from Borne (Eastbourne) to Fayrelee (Fairlight) Point there is good landing on the beech; but they cannot enter into the land, partly for marsh and high land, but must of necessity march along the sea."¹ A glance at the Ordnance map will shew that this ridge must, in Cæsar's times, and for many succeeding centuries, have been the only pass into the interior. It was then bounded on either side by forests and morasses. It stretches through Battle and Heathfield to Hadley Down, where the hills forming the watershed of the Rother and the Ouse, by a large arc² connect it with Crowborough Beacon, the highest point in the county, and with Ashdown Forest, a remnant of the forest of Anderida, which in the time of the Venerable Bede

¹ "Report on the arrangements which were made for the internal defence of these kingdoms, when Spain by its armada projected the invasion and conquest of England." (Grenville Library, British Mus.)

² The line of road, following the chord of the arc, crosses the Ouse at a place which, though twenty-five miles up the country, bears the very suggestive name of Hasting Ford.

(791) was one hundred and twenty miles in length by thirty broad.

Two valleys, situated at the extremity of this ridge, have been held for more than a thousand years by the mariners of Hastings. Of these, the most easterly is little more than two miles long, and so narrow that the Bourne, by which it is watered, and by which we shall sometimes find it convenient to distinguish it, must always have been an insignificant stream; and Knocker, in his *Court of Shepway*, relies on this circumstance as his chief argument against Hastings having been the principal of the Cinque Ports. He says (p. 22): "I have not found any record of its ever having possessed a port or harbour, except what Mr. Jeake, who wrote his treatise on the ports in 1678, says, 'that the present town of Hastings is built between two hills, between which runs a fresh water called the Bourne.' The inhabitants appear to have an impression that a port existed in former time, and I believe point out the course in which ran a small river, which may probably be the Bourne referred to by Jeake." But Mr. Knocker entirely overlooks the force of the term "present town", which decidedly implies not only that there was an older town, but also that it was not on exactly the same spot; and while he gives quotations from Moss on p. 5 and p. 8, he omits the extract from Jeake respecting the incorporation in the time of the Confessor, expressly referring to an older town (given on p. 7), to the following effect, "Whether *this*, or the *old town of Hastings*, be that which was first enfranchised and incorporated with the other ports, I leave as yet uncertain." This ancient town is placed by Mr. Clarke a great deal to the south of the present town, in the continuation of the same valley.

But the "Priory Valley", as we term that to the west of the Castle, has a much larger basin than the other. Of fan-like shape, it receives the drainage of several thousand acres; and its surrounding hills, when crowned with the trees of the primæval forest, were the sources of streams ample enough to form a capacious haven for the light barks of Briton and of Saxon. It is here, I venture to believe, we must seek for the original site of the ancient town and port of Hastings, and not in the Bourne Valley, according to the generally received opinion. I am at once met with two

objections,—1st, that no traces of the ancient town are now discoverable in this valley; 2ndly, that Hastings, from its position, could never have had a harbour.

It may be replied generally, that if we only considered the present state of the coast, such objections would apply equally to the harbours of Winchelsea, Pevensey, and Wis-sant, all well known to have been havens of great repute in the middle ages; and especially to the last, which is now only represented by a stream which a young boy can jump across. But to ascertain the weakness of these objections we must inquire into the nature of the change the coast-line has undergone. And first, with regard to the site of the town. Our hills and their intermediate valleys once stretched far out to seaward. The long parallel reefs, to which we give the name of the “Castle Rocks”, and similar ledges along the shore, formed the bases of cliffs, it may be, within the historic period. This is no mere conjecture, for the remains of trees and hedges are even now continually met with when the tide is out. Again, the burial-place, and remains of the tower discovered by Mr. Ross, are at the extremity of the east cliff; but to suppose that the bones of the dead were deposited at the very edge of the cliff, would be to suppose that they were deposited where the very object of burial would be defeated. The cliff, therefore, must have extended not only much further to the south, but also much further to the east.¹ At the present time the martello towers along the coast are being successively undermined by the sea. The road to Pevensey has twice been destroyed, and diverted further inland. The annual loss of land there has been estimated at seven feet.² On the opposite side of the Channel, within forty miles of us, we are able to measure with considerable exactness the ravages of the sea. The coast of the Boulonnais, from Cape Grinez to the mouth of the Somme, has a general resemblance to our own. A long line of marsh land (*Morini*, the ancient name of the inhabitants, may be derived from the Celtic *mor*, or marsh) extends for some forty miles, being about the distance of Beachy Head from Shorncliffe. This low coast is

¹ This would account for the westerly direction which the Bourne formerly took along John-street and George-street, which is quite an exception to the usual course of our streams.

² Redman, *Proceedings Institut. Civil Engin.*, iii.

interrupted by high land and bold cliffs for several miles at Boulogne. There, in A.D. 51, Caligula built a huge tower, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, a mile from the edge of the cliff. In 1544, being only two hundred yards from the edge, it was fortified by the English. Ground had thus been lost at the rate of three feet a year. In 1644 the sea undermined it to such an extent that it fell, so that in that century the sea gained six feet a year. The ruins now stand on the verge; and were but ten feet more of the cliff to fall, some future explorer might well doubt that such a work had ever been erected. It is certain that our own cliffs and glens have suffered much from like causes; and it must be difficult to discover the traces of a town situated near the mouth of the Priory Valley in Roman or British times, the site of which is now covered by the waters.

It has been urged that these valleys could never have harboured powerful fleets; but when the great wood of Anderida spread through Kent and the eastern part of Sussex, where the "hursts" and "fields" (the *woods* and adjoining *cleared spaces*), the Crowhursts and the Catsfields still mark out its old area; when the Weald was what its name imports (a forest land), the foliage formed an imperious barrier to the escape of vapour to the air, the sunshine never visited the swampy glens, the valleys now drained by some slender rivulet were filled with water from side to side. As the centuries rolled on, the woodland has waned before the woodman's axe; and the land, cleared and drained for the plough, has sent less and less moisture to the sea. The names of the cascades of "Glen Roar" and "Old Roar", in our immediate neighbourhood, bear witness to an era when the sound of the fall of their waters was not the sound of puny streams. In such circumstances it is not difficult to believe that Hastings had a harbour with sufficient water to float the small ships of early times, or even of the Cinque Ports, whose average size may be gathered from the instructions for resisting the Spanish armada, as quoted by Mr. Cooper (Harleian MSS. 168, p. 115): "Hastinges, whose members be, and are to finde for the transportation of the king xxi shippes of xx tounes the peece." It may be added, that of such ships the full complement consisted of twenty-one men and a boy, paid at the rate of 6*d.* a day for officers, and 3*d.* for men: and that the heaviest tonnage on record is eighty tons.

It should also be noted that these valleys were once deeper than they now are. They have silted up through the continual "inning" or enclosing of land, and the deposit of matter at the mouth of the streams. How a harbour may be thus destroyed can be learnt from the report of a committee of the House of Commons, in 1700, respecting the neighbouring harbour of Rye: "The cross walls, stops, and floodgates, set up in the river Rother and chanel through Wittersham leuell, and inning the said river and chanel, and making land of the same, and likewise inning of sea wastes, which draw a constant influx and efflux to scour the harbour of Rye, have wholly injured the navigation of the said river and chanel, and are the cause of stopping up the said harbour."

The ancient harbours have been affected by another disturbing cause peculiar to this part of the coast. Owing to the tidal wave passing from west to east, and the prevalence of south-westerly winds, the loose soil and shingle are continually moving eastward, and, being checked at the river-mouth, a considerable portion is deposited south-west of the entrance, and a bank of shingle is formed nearly across the river, which is forced to turn to the east, if not entirely choked up. This effect may be noticed at Limne, Hythe, Romney, Seaford, and is particularly observable in the Priory Valley at Hastings, in which the stream gradually altered its course till it wound round the base of the Castle Cliff. Its bed, long filled up, is however easily traceable, as it followed the direction of the existing thoroughfares of York Buildings and Castle-street.

To these reasons for fixing the site of the haven in the Priory Valley, at the present cricket ground, I may add that this spot has, within my own memory, been several times under water; and I will conclude this section of my subject with an extract from the *Hastings Chronicle* of Sept. 26, 1866: "A flood at the Priory is by no means a novelty, for it is an occurrence which even the 'oldest inhabitant' may associate with the remembrance of early days. Of late years the inundations, which at one time were regarded as periodical events, have diminished both in number and extent, and therefore it is not a matter of great surprise that the flood, which came with unusual magnitude on Saturday morning last, found the denizens of the neighbourhood un-

prepared. Most of our readers are aware that the unpleasant inundations are caused by the large body of water which descends from the surrounding hills after a long continuance of rain, and, flowing down the valley, finds a resting-place in the cricket ground. The gathering of the water in the cricket ground at an early hour on Saturday morning, was the first sign of the coming flood; and in a comparatively short time the entire surface of the ground was covered, until the water was several feet in depth. Pleasure skiffs were skimming about over the surface, and during the morning a rowing match might be seen at the spot where on the previous day a cricket match was played. The appearance of a cricket ground has, perhaps, never been more suddenly changed."

Having thus adverted to some of the physical causes which have exerted such an influence on the fortunes of our town, I turn now to the consideration of some historical questions.

Our earliest information as to this part of Britain is confined to what we can gather from Cæsar; other writers simply repeat his statements. From him we learn that the south-eastern districts were inhabited by tribes much more refined than those of the interior; that they were of the same race as the Belgæ across the straits,—in many cases bearing the same names, as, for instance, the Atrebates. That there was a great intercourse between these kindred nations: indeed, shortly before his time, Divitiacus, a Belgian chieftain, who held the valley of the Somme, had not only become very powerful in Gaul, but had extended his dominion over Britain. And Cæsar incidentally shews that the Britons of these parts must have been continually engaged in maritime expeditions, by informing us, as one of the reasons for the invasion of the island, that in *all* his wars the islanders supplied reinforcements to his Gallic enemies: even the Veneti, though situated on the southern shores of Brittany, were assisted in their naval wars by Britons from the coasts opposite the Menapii and Morini, *i.e.*, from Kent and Sussex. The Veneti, whom we thus see connected with these regions by the double tie of kindred and of policy, used sailing vessels instead of galleys for their ships of war; and in times of need took refuge in towns¹ placed at the

¹ "Situs oppidorum posita in extremis promontoriis." (Cæsar, iii, 12.)

extremities of lofty cliffs overlooking the harbours in which their ships found shelter.

Just such a town once occupied the summit of our East Cliff,¹ defended on the east by the lofty embankment which constitutes our oldest antiquity, still in a good state of preservation: and on the north by an artificial escarpment of the hill, where its natural steepness was not deemed sufficient. On the west, Mr. Sharpe,² when addressing the British Archæological Association on the subject, says it is difficult to trace the line of the embankment, but that there must have been one. I, on the contrary, think that the town or camp would occupy the whole triangular space, and would be amply protected in that part by the precipitous character of the hill. The apex of the triangle was somewhat south-west of the point where the discovery of bones was made by Mr. Ross, which, from the peculiar mode of burial, would seem to be British,³ unless the iron rivets be taken to indicate a later date; though this being an iron region, the use of iron would be earlier known here than elsewhere. The curious "Minnis Rocks" (almost a unique specimen of an ancient hermitage), half way up the northern slope of the hill, preserve the tradition of a British settlement; for *menys* is the old British for a steep ascent, and would not have been an inappropriate name for the town itself.

On the neighbouring Castle Hill, to the west, was a similar town or camp, also triangular in shape, but much smaller, defended towards its base by the high embankment still discernible on the northern and eastern faces of the "Lady's Parlour", and by the natural steepness of the remaining sides. This corresponds with what Cæsar tells us of the tactics of the seafaring people to whom he was opposed, that when forced out of one of their towns, they would pass over in their shipping to another in the immediate vicinity, and that then the siege operations had to be commenced afresh.

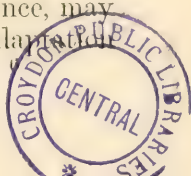
¹ Where several British remains have been found. (*Suss. Arch.*, ix, 366; xiii, 308.)

² Read before the Congress, Aug. 20, 1866.

³ "The bodies lay on charcoal two inches in thickness, and by the right side of each were what appeared to be iron rivets having a head at each end, about the size of a halfpenny, with the remains of wood attached. Each body had besides five or six large headed nails roughly made. Under each skull was an oyster-shell, in the hollow of which the skull rested. Three of them differed in the mode of sepulture, the head resting on a hollow boulder from the seashore." (Extract from a paper by Mr. Ross, read before the Congress, August 20, 1866.)

But it was not on these heights, exposed to the full force of the south-western gales, and from which the fishermen could have had no easy access to their boats, that they were likely to have fixed their permanent abodes. The site of the town in which, in more peaceful times, they passed their lives, would be to the right of the Priory Valley, where they would be sheltered from the storms of the Channel, and where the fleets in which these hardy sailors crossed the seas, and even navigated the Bay of Biscay, could be moored in perfect safety: and this lower town must also have had defences raised as much against the sea as against a human enemy, of the existence of which in some parts of Britain we have contemporary evidence; for Cicero, whose brother accompanied Cæsar on his expedition to this island, and who was in constant correspondence with Cæsar himself at the time, uses the following remarkable expression in a letter to Atticus, written while Cæsar and his brother were in Britain, and which I believe has escaped the notice of those who have discussed the question of Cæsar's landing: "Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus esse munitos mirificis molibus". (Cic., *Ep. ad Atticum*, lib. iv, ep. 16.) "The end of the British war is expected, for it appears that the approaches to the island are fortified by embankments wonderfully constructed." *Moles*, which I have termed "embankment", is rarely if ever used of any natural defences such as our cliffs, of which Cæsar himself speaks, but is commonly used in classical writers to designate a "digue", or sea-wall or pier, intended to check the encroachments of the sea; while the term *mirificis* (wonderfully constructed) also points to their artificial nature. To such defences is due the general tone of Cicero's letters, conveying that Cæsar met with a more determined resistance, and less satisfaction, than he had counted upon, notwithstanding that the Britons had lost the first line of their defences by the destruction of their fleets in the previous naval campaign on the coasts of Gaul.

That the Romans, on their conquest of the island, would neglect a position strong by nature, and so conveniently situated for communication with their province of Gaul, is highly improbable; and the embankment on the east hill, rudely thrown up by the Britons in the first instance, may owe its height and mathematical exactness to its adaptation



by the invaders for the purpose of their own defence. A Roman gold coin was found, quite recently, close to the southern extremity of the mound, on which appears the name of Theodosius. Now in 367 a Theodosius was ordered to proceed to Britain to defend it against invaders. He is known to have commanded in these parts in 379, and to have died in 395; and he was father of the great emperor of that name, in the eighteenth year of whose reign Britain was lost to Rome. Traces of Roman ironworks have been discovered by Mr. Ross in the Priory Valley.

It would be very desirable that the foundations of the round tower should be minutely examined, for the situation is so exactly adapted to the position the Romans usually chose for a pharos or lighthouse, that I should not be surprised to find there evidences of Roman workmanship.¹

Within three hundred years of the departure of the Romans we first meet with a notice of the town under its present appellation of Hastings, but always in Saxon times with the significant addition of Chester or Caestra, and it is in fact so called in the Bayeux tapestry. This term, I believe, invariably indicates that the town so distinguished occupies the site of a Roman camp or castrum. Now the Romans, assuredly, would not merely defend the heights above, but also make use of and strengthen the British defences of the bay below, where the inhabitants and ships would most require protection. That the British town became in course of time a Roman one with municipal rights, is further evidenced by the term *baron* or *combaron*, used from time immemorial to distinguish our representatives, whether in the Commons House of Parliament or when assembled in brotherhood and guestling with the other cinque ports, and in general the freemen of the cinque ports, a title which, on the great legal authority of Coke,

¹ I think, however, that Mr. Sharpe is mistaken in imagining, as he suggested at the Congress, that the rectangular enclosure in the centre of the East Hill (in my opinion far too small for any encampment) has anything to do with the Romans: indeed, our records state it to have been the churchyard of St. George's Church, the whole hill having been formerly known as St. George's, and the right of way to the hill being due to its having been the high road to the church. The garden within the enclosure is still attached to the living of St. Clement's, and on its southern side a few stones and a portion of the wall still mark the site of the church, which Moss, writing in 1824, informs us stood in a small field on the eastern hill, and that the last inconsiderable remains of it were levelled by the rector many years ago.

indubitably points to a Roman origin of the corporate body in which it is used. That our town was supposed to have been fortified six hundred years before the present castle was built, is clear from the celebrated passage¹ in the chronicles of the Dover monastery : "When Arviragus threw off the Roman yoke, it is likely he fortified those places which were most convenient for their invasion, viz., Richborough, Walmer, Dover, and Hastings"; for here, at any rate, we find the Dover monks writing at a time when the incorporation of Hastings with the other ports was still comparatively recent, yet ascribing to her an existence of several centuries prior to that incorporation, and a like origin with Richborough (Rutupiæ) and Dover, of whose status, as Roman places of strength, there has never been any doubt. But while the monks think it likely that Arviragus was the fortifier of Hastings towards the expiration of the Roman dominion, the circumstances of the times would render it far more likely that Hastings was fortified at least as early as when the Romans placed the south-east maritime district under military organisation. After their first wars of subjugation were over, they held peaceable possession for three centuries, but from that time the barbarian hordes from the north and east began to ravage the empire, and these shores became subject to the periodical attacks of the Saxons; so much so that the whole coast, long before it had any Saxon inhabitants, was known as the *Litus Saxonicum*, or Saxon shore, just as the borders of England, subject to the incursions of the Scottish and Welch, were called respectively the Scottish and Welsh marches, and it became necessary to appoint a governor, who had special charge of the Kent and Sussex shore, under the name of *Comes Maritimi Tractus* (count of the maritime district), a little afterwards exchanged for that of *Comes Saxonicæ Litoris* (count of the Saxon shore). Now, Kent was well defended by Rutupiæ, or Richborough castle near Sandwich, and by Dover; Romney Marsh by Lymne; the neighbourhood of the South Downs by Anderida or Pevensey. But unless it be allowed that there was a Roman post here, small it may be, and certainly somewhat thrown into the shade by the superior importance of Anderida, we are driven to the strange conclusion that they omitted all

¹ Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ii. 50.

means of securing the whole line of coast from Lyme to Pevensey from insult and invasion, at the very point where a harbour and facilities for advancing into the interior of the country were sure to invite the approach of an enterprising foe. These various considerations produce on my own mind, by their cumulative effect, the conviction that this was a Roman municipal town; indeed, I believe that if the town were *now* known by its earlier designation of Hastings Chester, the name alone would be accepted as a convincing proof of the truth of my proposition.

It is remarkable that in the earliest list¹ we have of Roman ports, the first name on the list, *Othoma*, has never been satisfactorily identified: although it takes precedence of Dover, which is second, for the names are not arranged in geographical order, and therefore we may fairly presume that they are placed in order of importance. Mr. Knocker, indeed (*Court of Shepway*, p. 1), states that it is said to have been in the hundred of Dengy, in Essex, at or near St. Peter's in the Well, but this is apparently a mere conjecture of Camden, who spells the name Othona. Now the name of Hastings is plainly of Saxon or Danish origin; it must therefore have supplanted some older Roman name. Can it be that Othoma, the chief of the ports under the Roman Count, was identical with Hastings, the chief of the same ports under the Saxon Warden?

The *Itinerary of Antoninus* mentions only three ports, Rutupia, Dubris, Lemanis: and, as Mr. Knocker observes, "probably he was making the journey of Kent only," a very good reason for the omission both of Hastings and Anderida, though he is puzzled to account for the omission of the last, as he connects it with Newenden in Kent, contrary to the conclusions of most antiquaries.

We now enter upon a new era: the Saxons, who had so long threatened the country, at length made good their footing, and while their kinsmen, the Jutes, under Hengist and Horsa, subdued Kent, a Saxon chieftain, Aella, reduced this district, which became known as the kingdom of South Saxony, or Sussex. He met with a most stubborn resistance, and one terrible incident in the war had no doubt a most important bearing on the fortunes of our own town. I mean the taking by storm of the flourishing city of Ande-

¹ Philipott's *Vallare Cantianum*, p. 9. (*Notitia* of Pancirollus.)

rida (Pevensey) in 491, and the putting all the inhabitants to the sword. The ships which for purposes of war and peace had frequented that famous harbour, would be obliged to have recourse to the nearest port, and our haven would at once rise into consequence on the downfall and utter destruction of its neighbour and rival; and it is a somewhat singular coincidence that the first mention of our town by name is in association with that of Pevensey, which had sprung up on the outskirts of the ruined Anderida, and that they both belonged to the same chieftain—Bertwald.

There are three hypotheses regarding the origin of the name of Hastings; one deriving it from the river Asten, which rises just to the west of Battle Abbey, flows through Crowhurst, below which it is known as the haven, and discharges itself at Bopeep, the extreme western point of St. Leonards. Here, sheltered by heights still further to the west, it formed the harbour once known as Bulwer Hythe, which corrupted into Bull's Hide, gave rise to a legend still firmly believed hereabouts, but in fact a mere travestie of Virgil's story of the acquisition of Carthage by Dido.

The second hypothesis refers the name to the Viking Hasting, who, in the beginning of the tenth century, spread the terror of his name along the coasts of France and England, and made repeated descents in these regions, to one of which the Danish element in our population may be due. He was won over in his old age to become a vassal of France by the grant of fair demesnes on the Loire, and did the French good service in their wars with his countrymen the Normans, and had his prudent counsels been adopted, the progress of Rollo might have been stayed; but the Franks suspected Hasting as a traitor, and soon he mysteriously disappeared from their camp, and was heard of no more. The aged warrior may have once more visited our coast, and, ending his days here, have perpetuated his name in these vales.

The third, and most probable supposition, is, that the name is derived from a tribe called the Hestingi, or Hestings, against whom it is recorded that King Offa of Sussex made war, and a charter in Dublet is quoted by Lingard of the date of 792, by which, under the same king, Hastings and Pevensey, with their marshes, are bestowed on the monastery of St. Denis of Paris. This indicates as intimate

a friendship betwixt the kindred nations of Franks and Saxons as had previously subsisted between the Gallic tribes on the opposite sides of the Channel, and that the banks of the Seine were more familiar to our sailors in the days of Charlemagne than now.

The Saxon town of Hastings became so important in 924, that King Athelstan established a mint here, and Ruding, in his work on coinage, speaks of pieces coined here in the reigns of Canute, Edward the Confessor, Harold, William I, William II, and Henry I: and silver pennies were discovered at Alfriston in 1843 apparently struck at Hastings: one a very rare coin of Hardicanute.

Mr. Ade¹ gives a list of coins struck at the Sussex mints, from which I extract those coined at Hastings in Saxon times:—

+ LNVT RELX	+ .ELFPERD ON HÆS
+ HARDALNVT RE	+ BRIDD ON HÆS
+ EDPERD REX	+ BRIDD ON HÆSTIN
+ EDPERD REX	+ BRIDD ON HÆSTINL
+ EDPERD RE	+ BRIDD ON HÆSTINE
+ EDPERD REI	+ BRID ON HÆSTINL
+ EDPERD REX	+ DVNNINL ON HÆSTIE

The name of Bridd is also found on coins of the Confessor struck at Dover.

The patron saint of Hastings was and still is St. Michael, and his figure is delineated on the corporation seal, and may be seen either in Moss's *History of Hastings*, p. 131, or as drawn by Mr. Lower, *Suss. Arch.* i, 16. The motto of the town is

“Draco crudelis te vincet vis Micaelis.”

(Cruel serpent, thee the force of Michael shall overcome.)

In a parish dedicated to St. Michael, then, I should look for the site of the old Saxon town. Such a parish exists, but of exceedingly limited dimensions; it occupies a very small strip of ground along the brow and at the foot of Cuckoo² Hill, about one hundred and seventy yards in length, with an average breadth of sixty yards, and may slightly exceed two acres in extent. The remains of St. Michael's church were

¹ *Suss. Arch.*, i, 38.

² “Cuck” or “cock” signifies in Saxon “chief”, as, for instance, Cuckmere, Cuckfield: hence Cuckoo may have once been the high street or upper town.

discovered in 1834 in cutting down the cliffs near the White Rock. These could hardly have been the original dimensions of the principal parish of the town, and there is little doubt that the extra parochial district now termed the parish of the Holy Trinity (but which has never appeared as a parish in any of the ancient returns), occupies no inconsiderable part of the old St. Michael's parish. It consists of one hundred and ninety-two acres, and exactly corresponds to the demesne of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and the ecclesiastical independence of the prior would tend to sever this part from the rest. In the recital of the property of the Priory quoted by the Rev. G. G. Stonestreet,¹ it is made to consist principally of a farm *in the parish of St. Michael's*.

Not only, however, was a great part of St. Michael's absorbed by the priory, it also suffered terribly from the incursions of the sea; for it is just where it abuts on the shore, that at low water may be traced the remains of forest trees and hedges, alluded to in the earlier part of these remarks; and within the memory of living persons, Cuckoo Hill extended much further to the south under the name of the White Rock, on which the old church stood. Moss has a good engraving of the rock in his history.

I consider, therefore, that the Saxons succeeded the Britons and Romans in the occupation of a town on the western slope of the priory valley and on the western side of the brook which formed its haven. When the Saxons established themselves in the land they had in their turn to guard against foreign invaders, and, as soon as their power became consolidated under a single king, an officer, with like duties to those of the counts of the Saxon shore, ruled these regions as guardian of the ports; then, in King Edward the Confessor's reign, the five ports, Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, and Romsey, were formally incorporated under the government of a Lord Warden, with nearly the same privileges which they now possess, and the banner of St. Michael of Hastings was adopted as the banner of the ports; moreover, the number of ships Hastings had to contribute, was the same as Dover, and more than all the other ports put together. Hastings and Dover equipping twenty-one each, and the other three ports

¹ Horsfield's *Sussex*, i, 452.

fifteen ; whence it is clear that Hastings was at least equal to Dover in consequence, and much more important than the other towns. We may also fairly infer that she had long been associated with them ; for we can scarcely imagine that towns such as Dover, Sandwich (Rutupiæ), and Lyme or Hythe, whom we have seen confederated together in Roman times, would allow a port with which they had been previously but little connected, at one bound to assume the precedence.

It is a point not without interest to archæologists that the question of the precedence of Hastings amongst the ports is now in course of argument before the Lord Warden ; and the statement of the right of precedence of Hastings, compiled by Mr. Cooper and Mr. Ross, as well as the counter-statement in favour of Dover, drawn up by Mr. Knocker, merit their attentive consideration. Both towns have submitted to the ultimate decision of the Warden, who will be guided by the advice of the law officers of the Crown. For myself, I somewhat regret this appeal to legal authorities. On a point of law I should readily accept their opinion as binding ; but on a point of honour I would rather appeal to them as gentlemen, than refer to them in their legal capacity ; and on a point of archæology, I think it would be more satisfactory if we could carry our cause before a court formed of eminent members of the great antiquarian societies of England—for instance, of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Archæological Institute, and of the British Archæological Association.¹ But whether Hastings were the premier port or not, she was now in the zenith of her fame, and contributed more than a third of the entire naval force of the kingdom. She also took her part in the civil commotions of the reign. In 1050, we read in the Saxon Chronicle, that the men of Hastings and thereabouts fought two of Godwin's ships with their ships, and slew all the men and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king ; and two years afterwards, we find her fighting

¹ Owing to the statement of Hastings having been submitted to Dover, without any intimation to our authorities that such a step was intended, which they could not but regard as a breach of faith, and as this proceeding would necessarily involve replies and counter replies, and so open up the question anew, the resolution to abide by the Warden's decision has been unanimously annulled by the Corporation. The question, therefore, still awaits the arbitration of a court of archæology.

against the king : for Godwin enticed to him the boatmen (bass-carles) from Hastings, who declared they would die and live with him, and advanced with his fleet to London till he came to Southwark.

Her ancient connexion with Paris had doubtless been broken off when the Normans occupied the lower course of the Seine, and so interrupted the voyage to St. Denis. But the confessor, half Norman in blood, renewed the connection with the opposite coast, by bestowing Rye, Winchelsea, and the Bourne Valley, not then included in Hastings, as dependencies of the Abbey of Fécamp in Normandy ; and we shall presently see reason to believe that, in consequence of the great prosperity of the mother-town, a new Hastings arose on the abbot's land in the Valley of the Bourne. However this be, the Confessor, by placing the keys of Sussex in the hands of an immediate vassal of William, materially assisted the great enterprise of the duke, who may have been welcomed by the neighbourhood rather as a suzerain than as a foe. Remigius, one of the monks of Fécamp, actually accompanied William on the battle field, encouraged him to build Battle Abbey, and was made Bishop of Lincoln as a reward for his great services.

The details of the great event which has given Hastings a world-wide fame, it falls not within my province to relate. Suffice it to say that, on Edward's death and Harold's accession to the throne, William assembled a formidable expedition in the vast estuary of the Somme, overlooked by the old town of St. Valeri, that weighing anchor from Noyelles-sur-Mer, he crossed to Pevensey Bay and disembarked at Bulverhythe. The stone on which tradition says he dined is still preserved in the Subscription Gardens of St. Leonard's. Hastings, it may be, influenced by Remigius of Fécamp, opened its gates, though it would appear that there were some isolated attempts at resistance, and consequent devastation, as we see in the Bayeux tapestry a burning house close to the Castle Hill, which it is natural to suppose was set on fire by the invaders, and not the work of a Saxon incendiary. The lines of his camp can still be traced in the step-meadow and in the field, to the north of Lady Jocelyn's villa, immediately adjoining St. Michael's Parish. He ordered—to quote the words on the

tapestry—that a castle should be dug at Hastings Chester, “iste jussit ut castellum foderetur at Hastenga Caestra”, and underneath these words is the picture of the castle on the summit of the hill, where it still stands. The expression “foderetur” is advisedly used, witness the deep trench on the landward side of the castle, and a corresponding trench which existed till some three years ago to the seaward, isolating a small portion of the hill, of a pyramidal shape, having a few yards, area at the top: this has been cut down to about half its former height. There could have been no motive in isolating by an immense trench a mere peak from the rest of the hill, so we have clearly here an indication that the peak is a mere remnant of a considerable part of the hill which at this particular point was not precipitous but sloped with an easy descent to the sea, and rendered it necessary to defend the castle in this quarter by a ditch. This spot we shall afterwards find specially defined, as “infra Clastrum”, below the fortified enclosure or castle. The ditch is thus described in *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Sussex*, published (Moss says, writing in 1824) a few years ago. On the north-west side was another ditch of the like breadth (100 feet) commencing at the cliff opposite to the westernmost angle, and bearing away almost due north, leaving a level intermediate space, which, opposite to the sallyports, was 180 feet in breadth.¹

The castle in the picture may have been, as Mr. Planché says, one of the wooden castles the Conqueror brought with him; but it was of course only temporary, and was soon replaced by the massy walls of the present structure, which, as the composition of the mortar and other details show, must have been commenced about this period. As at Pevensey, the Norman Castle was placed within the area of older works.

In the fourth year after the Conquest, the Corporation of the Cinque Ports was confirmed anew with all its former privileges. Hastings still contributed twenty-one ships out of a total of fifty-seven, and her varying fortunes may henceforth be noted by the quota actually furnished at different periods.

Fourteen years after the Conquest, King William ordered

¹ Moss, 63.

an exact account to be taken of all the manors of the kingdom.¹ This inventory appears to be exhaustive as far as it goes: but such places as were, if I may coin the term, “extramanorial”, are only incidentally noticed. Amongst such we must reckon Hastings. That no notice should be taken of her as a Cinque Port, though she had been so distinctly recognised ten years before, is certainly very remarkable; but the Domesday Book is methodically arranged according to counties, and most of the Cinque ports being in Kent, we find three of the principal Kentish Ports grouped together and their privileges enumerated, Hastings not being described, because not situated in that county.

The solitary passage, however, in which Hastings is mentioned, is one to which I wish particularly to draw attention; it reads as follows:—

“Land of the Church of Fécamp. In *Guestlinges* hundred. The *Abbot* of Fécamp holds of the King *Rameslie*; he held it of King Edward, and then was rated for 20 hides,² but now for 17½. The land is 35 carucates. In the demesne is one carucate, and 100 villeins less one have 43 carucates. There are 5 churches returning 64 shillings, 100 saltpans of 8 pounds, and 15 shillings, and seven acres of meadow, and forest for the feeding of two pigs. In the manor itself is a new *Burg*, and there are 43 burgesses returning £8 less 2 shillings. In Hastings 4 burgesses and 14 *bordarii*, return 63s. Of that manor, Robert of Hastings holds two hides and a half of the abbot, and Herolf half a hide. They themselves have 4 villeins, and 4 cotters, and 2 carucates. The whole manor in the time of King Edward was worth £30. Now £50 is the value of the demesne of the abbot, that of the men 44 shillings.”

Moss,³ speaking of this passage, observes that “Hastings seems to have been closely connected with a place called Rameslie; but no such place, in the neighbourhood at least,

¹ Mr. Knocker (*Court of Shepway*, p. 21) says, “Soon after the record of the *Domesday* was compiled, in the fourth year after the conquest, William I granted a charter to the Cinque Ports.” But the record of *Domesday* was not commenced till the fourteenth year, and not finished till the twentieth year, of William.

² The Saxon hide is of variable extent, but may be calculated at about 120 acres. The Norman carucate is likewise variable, but in the present instance it may be reckoned at 60 acres, as 35 carucates (we see above) answer to 17½ hides, or two carucates to a hide.

³ History of Hastings, p. 5.



is now in existence." Rameslie, however, is clearly identical with the manor of Brede. A rough estimate of its extent, as described in Domesday, would give about 5000 acres: it must, therefore, have occupied a considerable part of the hundred of Guestling—so does the present manor of Brede. It extended through that part of the hundred bordering on Hastings. Brede Manor extends throughout the Valley of the Bourn. The Abbot of Fécamp held the manor of Rameslie in Guestling under the Confessor and the Conqueror. For several centuries, succeeding abbots have held the manor of Brede in Guestling: the change, then, must have been merely one of the name. If we were inclined to be fanciful, we might hazard the conjecture that the name of Brede was derived from Brid, the master of the Hastings Mint, who must have been a man of consequence in his time.

Mr. Cooper¹ argues that the new burg in the manor of Rameslie cannot be Hastings, because Domesday expressly says that there were four burgesses in Hastings yielding sixty-three shillings to the said manor, and that Robert of Hastings held two hides and a half from the Abbot of Fécamp, who held Rameslie; and I quite agree with him that it proves that the Hastings of that day *was not included* in the manor of Rameslie or Brede; but the *present* Hastings *is included* in the manor of Brede—consequently it must at some time or other have actually occupied the position of a new burg or town on the abbot's land, and if so, can we resist the conclusion, that it was the new burg mentioned in Domesday? and if we adopt this hypothesis, there would then be no inconsistency in burgesses of Old Hastings holding lands in an adjoining suburb; nay, further, the intimate connection of burgesses of Hastings with this manor, and with no other in the whole Domesday, would make it antecedently highly probable that a new town should spring up within this very manor, as an offshoot from the parent town; and when would such an occurrence be more likely to take place, than when the old town was in its most flourishing state? *i.e.*, in the reign of Edward, the exact period in which we first hear of this new burg.

But Mr. Cooper proceeds to identify the new burg with

¹ History of Winchester, p. 5.

his own town of Winchelsea, in which he has been anticipated by Moss; but I cannot understand how he reconciles his conjecture with the fact that Rye and Winchelsea were never held by the abbot in connection with Guestling hundred at all, nor as any part of the manor of Rameslie; but they were always held and reckoned as part of the manor of Steyning. To prove this, I give the following extract from the charter¹ of resumption by Henry III, in 1247, witnessed to, amongst others by Simon De Montfort Earl of Leicester, and Richard Earl of Cornwall, afterwards King of the Romans:—

“By the means of Winchelsea and Rye, which are called the more noble members of our Cinque Ports, which the abbot and monks of Fécamp have hitherto possessed, to whom it is not lawful to contend with material arms against the enemies of the realm, irrecoverable loss might happen (and may this never be!) to us and to our heirs in time of war, if in such wise, they remained without defence in the hands of the abbots and monks. Wherefore, under the advice of the nobles of our realm, and with the goodwill of the said abbot and monks of Fécamp, we have resumed the aforesaid towns of Winchelsea and Rye, with the harbours and advowson of the churches...as far as the manor of Guestling...giving, and by this charter confirming, to the same abbot and monks of Fécamp, for us and for our heirs, in good and sufficient exchange for the aforesaid towns of Winchelsea and Rye, our manor of Cheltenham, in the County of Gloucester...to be held of us and our heirs by the aforesaid abbots and monks for ever, as freely and quietly as they held Winchelsea and Rye, by reason of the gift made to them by St. Edward, of happy memory; and of the concessions and confirmations had afterwards from William and Henry, Kings of England; of the land of STEYNING (Staninges), with all its appurtenances, amongst which were reckoned Winchelsea and Rye, the liberties of which are set forth in the Charter of King William, in manner following, viz.—‘That the aforesaid abbot and monks of Fécamp should hold the lands of Steyning.’...For that this is a perfect royal immunity, and is quit of all service, as in the charters of the aforesaid kings, Saint Edward, William, and Henry, more fully is contained.”

¹ Holloway's *Rye*, 278.

Where, then, was the "new burg" in the hundred of Guestling and manor of Rameslie? It was neither Rye nor Winchelsea; for at that very time we have the above indisputable evidence, that they were appurtenances of the hundred of Steyning, Fairlight, Icklesham, or St. Leonard's, near Winchelsea, are out of the question. Guestling and Pett, though included in the hundred of Guestling, formed no part of the manor of Rameslie, being referred to independently in Domesday Book; but in one, and only one, corner of Brede or Rameslie, we find a town forming in fact, great part of what we now familiarly understand by Hastings. Its insulated position in a distinct valley, defended by separate fortifications (which Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., at our recent inspection of the town wall, pronounced to be earlier than the Conquest; *i.e.*, contemporary with the foundation of the burg), would sufficiently satisfy the conditions implied in the term burg, and if the term involves the possession of privileges, they are likely enough to have been conferred on what was substantially a new limb of an ancient port.

The limits of this new burg appear to be defined by the hills on either side, and the existing town wall, which may be still traced, about fifteen yards to the north of John and East Bourne Streets, and very probably was continued along the north of George Street as far as the Light Steps: as it appears to terminate there in the Corporation map.

Tenements and lands held of Brede Manor occur in every part of the valley; but the continued practice of enfranchisement (as I learn from my friend Mr. John Phillips) makes it difficult to mark the exact boundaries, though it seems in general to agree with the limits I have given. Messrs. Ross and Cooper make Bourne Street the eastern boundary of the manor. If it be so, I should imagine that this was once also the boundary of the burg, as it would then take the line of the Bourne, as far as the court-house, where once stood the massive towers of the Water Gate; and in that case, the district on the other side of the Bourne (this lower part of All Saints Street) may have been included in some later extension of the town; for instance, when it was rebuilt in 1380. It confirms this view, that the gate at the bottom of All Saints Street was known as the New Gate, and was indeed only reached by a flight of

steps practicable for foot passengers, whence may be derived the other name of Pulpit Gate, which Mr. Phillips tells me it once bore.

It is also a corroboration of this, that as late as 1746, there was no bridge across the Bourne lower than the court-house. The remains of the principal gate of the town, known as the Drawbridge Gate, were discovered at the bottom of High Street (once called Oak Hill), when the drainage works were carried out, about ten years ago.

It may be interesting to my fellow townsmen to know that the custom of Borough English, or the right by which the youngest inherits the copyhold to the exclusion of the elder sons (which is almost peculiar to this part of the country) prevails in so much of their town as is included in the manor of Brede.

Domesday Book informs us that there were five churches in this manor, which Mr. Cooper thus distributes, one to Rye, two to Winchelsea, one to Brede, and the fifth he considers to be St. Leonard's, which though in the liberties of Hastings, is actually situated on the confines of modern Winchelsea. Now, I think I have shown good reason why the three first churches must be sought for elsewhere than in Winchelsea and Rye, and also that we might expect to meet with them in the Bourne Valley—but from very ancient times there have been three, and only three, churches in that valley—a St. Clement's, destroyed in 1236 and probably situated near the Light Steps; for the present St. Clement's was built in 1286 by the Abbot of Fécamp on a different site, on land obtained from Alan de Chesmongre, and again rebuilt about 1380; All Saints, mentioned in 1291, and rebuilt, in all likelihood, shortly before 1436, when we find it referred to as the New Church; and St. George, situated on St. George's or the East Hill, which was destroyed previously to 1380, and never rebuilt. To these three churches I would add the two enumerated by Mr. Cooper: St. Leonard's, near Winchelsea, still within our corporation bounds; and St. George's of Brede. And these, all within the precincts of the manor, I confidently believe are the five churches of the Domesday Survey. It may be incidentally remarked, as pointing to the great antiquity of iron works in this immediate neighbourhood, that

with perhaps one exception, the only church in Sussex dedicated to the Patron Saint of Ironworkers is our own St. Clement's.

The abbot's new town had forty-three burgesses of sufficient importance to be rated, who would, with their families, amount to more than two hundred, and would necessitate the presence of a still larger number of dependents; but it continued a mere suburb for three centuries. The manor appears to have contained an unusual supply of salt pans, corresponding almost exactly to the number of villeins. One other passage in *Domesday* relates to Hastings:—"Land of the Count of Eu. In Bexelei¹ hundred Osbern holds Bexelei of the Count. In the time of King Edward, Bishop Alric held it, for it is of the bishopric, and he held it until King William gave to the Count the governorship of the Castle of Hastings." The interval thus alluded to would be the time occupied in building the castle. On its completion the Count became governor, and this must have been prior to 1086, when the *Domesday Survey* was finished. In 1093 William II stayed at Hastings for a month, during which Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other bishops, assisted in the consecration of the Bishop of Lincoln; the ceremony, we are told, took place in the chapel *in the castle itself*. This phrase suggests the idea, that there was either then, or at the time of the writer, another chapel *without the castle*, with which the former was in some danger of being confused. This must have been the chapel of the College of St. Mary, founded by the first Count of Eu, or by one of his immediate descendants, and which was situated "infra claustrum," *i. e.*, on the sloping ground outside the castle to the south, as has been already described. In the following year, 1095, William II was again in our town, on the occasion of the consecration of Battle Abbey. During the reign of his brother, Henry I, this was the station for the royal ship, which shows that Hastings, at any rate, *then* had a harbour, and that the king must have often visited the town, which was no doubt much frequented during the union of England and Normandy.

Thus far we have had to treat of Hastings in her pro-

¹ *Bexel-ei* (Bexhill island). The *ei*, which distinguishes so many places in this neighbourhood, has in this instance been dropped.

sperity. Her decadence may have commenced in the troubled times of Stephen, as we find no mention of the mint after his predecessor's reign. Under Richard Cœur de Lion a priory of Austin Friars was founded by Sir Walter Bricet in 1191, dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Its site is marked out by the priory farm-house, close to which is a pond which was drained about thirty years ago, when a large hole was found at the bottom, near thirty feet in depth, with the remains of a sluice, deep gates, and timbers of prodigious dimensions, relics of works constructed by the monks to protect their habitations, which were washed by the haven, from the ravages of the sea. There were still some relics of the priory left when this discovery was made, but the stone-work has since been used in the construction of the neighbouring barn and farmyard. A large portion of the old St. Michael's parish was placed under the jurisdiction of the priory. This appropriation of land to ecclesiastical purposes may have arisen from the haven having become useless for purposes of navigation, and with the view of the monastic brotherhood undertaking the repair of the sea-wall, a course actually adopted in the case of the castle forty-five years afterwards, which was bestowed on the canons of St. Mary with the avowed object of their inclosing it against marauders and the sea. At any rate, in nine years from this date, Hastings, whose commerce must have received a great check from the loss of Normandy, was only able to furnish six ships. Winchelsea and Rye were added by John, under the style of ancient towns, to the Cinque Ports, to enable Hastings to furnish her quota of twenty-one ships (which we must not omit to mention were at this time under the command of Vincent of Hastings), by themselves equipping fifteen, when the cinque ports, under their warden, Hubert de Burgh, obliged Prince Louis of France, to withdraw from his invasion of England by a great naval victory. A force of three hundred French knights, with a great body of soldiers, embarked at Calais in eighty great ships and many smaller ones, commanded by Eustace the monk, who "had done in his days much mischief to the Englishmen."¹ With only forty vessels, great and small, the English commander put to sea on St. Bartholomew's day, and encountered them, and "by tilting at them with the iron beaks of their

¹ Southey's *Hist. Naval Battles of England*, i, 190.

galleys, sunk several of the transports with all on board."¹ Louis was so disheartened by this reverse, that he was glad to make peace, gave up such strongholds as were in his possession, and returned to France. A remarkable instance occurred some fifteen years afterwards of the feeling with which the people regarded this naval victory. Hubert de Burgh,² who had been regent of England, and husband of a queen, fell upon evil days, and was forcibly dragged from the sanctuary where he had taken refuge. The smith who was sent for to rivet his fetters, on learning who he was, said, "I will never make iron shackles for him, but will rather die the worst death that is. Is not this Hubert who restored England to England?" (Speed, 517.)

I have dwelt somewhat at length on this incident, because I believe that Hastings had no slight share in this great deliverance of our native land. An examination of the arms and seal of Hastings affords more room for speculation on this subject. The arms may be described in popular language as consisting of three golden lions on a field of red whose hinder parts are replaced by the sterns of three silver ships in a blue sea.³ Ships constitute such an appropriate emblem of a port, that probably the original arms consisted of three undivided ships,⁴ but the remaining portion of the escutcheon formed, in fact, one half of the royal arms of England from the time of Richard I (when arms first began to be borne), who first assumed the three lions, till that of Edward III, who quartered the lions with the lilies of France. This addition to our arms, then, must have taken place not earlier than King Richard's time nor later than 1340. Is it too much to assume that such an honour as that of bearing the royal arms by dimidiation

¹ Charnock, i, 332.

² Shakespeare's magic wand has transformed Hubert, a man of almost princely rank and birth, into a common menial,—“Out, dunghill! darest thou brave a nobleman!” are the terms in which he is addressed by Lord Bigod in *King John*, act iv, scene 3.

³ These were the arms of Hastings till the year of the Armada, and still are those of the Cinque Ports.

⁴ Since writing the above, Mr. J. C. Savery has pointed out to me that under the figure of Harold, in the Bayeux Tapestry, appear five ships, which I have no doubt were the original badge of the Cinque Ports, of which Harold was one of the earliest wardens. It is a striking corroboration of the suggestion made above; and the difference of the numbers is easily accounted for by the supposition, which I owe to Mr. Goldsmid, F.S.A., that the five ships were reduced to three to make them correspond to the royal lions, when that important augmentation was added.

could only have been bestowed for some very valiant exploit, and one that must have partaken of a national character, and have benefited the whole kingdom. Now it happens that the battle just described, in which the Cinque Ports are so specially mentioned, and which was fought against such odds, was the only one fought for the protection of England's shores in all that period of one hundred and fifty years; for the battle of Damme, or Lluis, three years before, was simply a surprise of the French fleet, the greater part of which was captured without resistance in a harbour in which there was no room for manœuvring, and the fighting principally took place on land; and although we may be sure the Cinque Ports did their *devoir*, yet they are not particularly named as taking part in it.

If we turn to the seal of Hastings we shall be able to narrow the limits within which the distinction was granted to a period corresponding to the reign of Henry III, and shall find all the accessories in harmony with the view that Hastings won her honours under De Burgh. We see in the seals of all the ports figures of ships of war; but on our own seal we have an unique picture of a naval engagement—one ship ramming another and cutting her in two, “tilting at her with her iron beak”—the very manœuvre recorded in the description of the fight. Besides the standard of the town, the English ship has the royal standard with its three lions, showing that the seal itself must have been executed prior to 1340. The ships, which are exactly alike, are of a style intermediate to the Conquest and the Edwardian era. They have towers in the stern, which those in the Bayeux tapestry have not; but they have no forecastles, such as we see depicted in Edward III's era. Mr. Lower points out that the legend “*Sigillum Commune Baronum de Hastings*,” is in Gothic characters of the thirteenth century; and that on the reverse side of the seal the figure of St. Michael holds a circular shield, such as was sometimes used during the reign of Henry III. There seems, then, very strong reason to believe that the men of Hastings so effectually helped England by their prowess in her time of greatest need, that they acquired these arms as a national reward. If she, with Winchelsea and Rye, sent a full quota, her aid must indeed have been invaluable, and she

may well claim to have borne the brunt of the fray, for more than half the English fleet must have sailed under her flag. Yet she continued to decline. In eleven years, that is in 1229, Seaford and Pevensey were incorporated as limbs of Hastings, to assist her in supplying even her diminished number of six ships. Bulverhythe; Hydney, which cannot now be identified, but is known to have lain between Eastbourne and Pevensey; Higham near Winchelsea; Beakesbourne near Canterbury (where the great traveller, Dr. Beke, dwells in the midst of his ancestral demesne, whose energy and spirit of adventure bespeak him no degenerate descendant of the hardy Portsmen of yore); and Northy,¹ near Pevensey Sluice, were added at the same time, but not incorporated.

About this time the dean and canons of Hastings petition the king to repair the walls of the castle to secure their chapel, which they stated to be "*sita infra claustrum predictum, quod per frequentes inundationes maris pro majori parte, devastatur.*"² This the king is mentioned to have granted, giving them liberty to enclose the castle with walls. He permitted them also to build houses. They would appear to have taken advantage of this permission, and have abandoned their old chapel, and in its place to have enlarged, or rather to have almost rebuilt, the old castle chapel, which thenceforth became known as *St. Mary's in the castle*. In 1236 *St. Clement's* was, in like manner, destroyed by the sea and rebuilt elsewhere. Both these ecclesiastical buildings were situated on the verge of the west hill, one to the west and the other to the east, which accounts for their falling into decay about the same time.

The new town could not have been of much consequence in 1247, for it was in that year that the king resumed Winchelsea and Rye from the abbot of Fécamp, as being too important to be held by priests and aliens, and yet he was allowed to retain his manor of Brede; but the old town did such good service under De Montfort's banner against Henry III, in defence of the liberties of the kingdom, that its barons, after the disastrous defeat of Leicester at Evesham, found it necessary to excuse themselves in the following quaint terms:³ "Take notice that we have up to

¹ Northey ceased to be a limb before the time of the Commonwealth.

² Burrell MSS. as quoted by Moss.

³ Suss. Arch. iv, 110.

this time guarded your town of Hastings for your use, and that of your heirs, and at your good pleasure shall guard it for ever, although anything to the contrary may have been suggested to your pious ears by our enemies against us." The barons of Hastings had also a little private war on their own account with Yarmouth in 1264,¹ and very reluctantly concluded a truce for half a year at the bidding of the king's council.

We hear more of the New Burg in 1286. A new St. Clement's was then built on the site of the present church; and we are informed that the abbot of Fécamp had a house of detention for the safe custody of thieves. This, no doubt, adjoined the court-house, and, if so, our gaol is on the same ground as the abbot's prison six hundred years ago.

The Hastings of that epoch, nevertheless, still centred in St. Michael's; for in the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291, St. Michael and St. Peter (the latter a parish of which nothing whatever is known, excepting that it evidently must have lain to the east of St. Michael's), are returned at £10, and St. Andrew-sub-Castro at £4 : 13 : 4, or £14 : 13 : 4 for the Priory Valley; while the returns of St. Clement's at £5, and All Saints' at £5 : 6 : 8, give only £10 : 6 : 8 for the valley of the Bourne. In this year Hastings equipped but three ships; in 1294 the same number attended the Warden, Edmund Earl of Lancaster to Gascony; and Hastings had only one ship in the fleet, which accompanied Edward I on his last inroad into Scotland. In 1339 the town suffered for the first time on record from a foreign enemy. The Frenchmen "sore troubled this realm by sea,"² and landed at Hastings on the feast of Corpus Christi, and there burnt some houses and slew some people. It is a singular coincidence that exactly the same date is assigned for the commencement of the "depopulation of the Priory Valley by reason of the ravages of the sea;" for we have documentary evidence that up to 1340 the western parishes were comparatively populous, and that Hastings, at that period, was nearly coextensive with our modern town. In Bishop Prady's register of the date of 1440 we read that within a hundred years St. Andrew's, St. Leonard's, St. Michael's, and St. Margaret's (which is now known as St. Mary Mag-

¹ Suss. Arch. iv, 112.

² Southey's *Naval History of England*, i. 237.

dales, from a hospital so dedicated, the site of which is fixed by the "chapel" farm on the Bohemia Road), had been depopulated and diminished by the inundation of the sea, the obvious inference being that, a century before, which takes us back to 1339 or 1340, they were in a flourishing condition. The history of this hundred years is a very melancholy one, though its commencement forms a brilliant page in our annals, since in 1340 the cinque ports, commanded by the king in person, destroyed a French fleet at Sluys. The French courtiers were afraid to tell King Philip of this disaster, and they deputed his jester to perform the unpleasing duty, who told the king that he thought the French sailors much braver than the English; and on being asked why, replied, because they leaped out of their ships into the water, and that the English did not attempt to imitate them. In 1350 the ports vanquished a Spanish fleet off Winchelsea, yet in a little while they were unable to defend the coast; for in 1360, Hastings, which had fourteen years before assisted in the siege of Calais with five ships and ninety-six men, was sacked with many other towns. The success at Calais was fraught with injury to our town, as it tended to make Dover exclusively the channel of intercourse with the Continent. In 1371 the Parliament took notice of the decay of the navy, as well they might; for next year the whole fleet of the ports, with the Earl of Pembroke on board, was captured by the Spaniards, and in the following reign John of Gaunt, at the head of a gallant army, had to linger for months at the mouth of the Severn, awaiting the arrival of a Portuguese fleet to convoy him to the coasts of Spain, and guard him from the Spaniards. This inefficiency of the English ships may be attributed to the superior size of the Spanish and Portuguese vessels built to encounter the storms of the Atlantic. In 1377 Hastings was burnt, the French coasting along and finding the place deserted (Stowe). In 1380, ere the town could well have been rebuilt (only we must recollect that the majority of the houses were as easily run up, and as unsubstantial as the quaint wooden storehouses of the fishermen on our beach) Hastings was burnt again, or four times in forty years. It is probable that the sea defences had been so irretrievably damaged on the occasion of the first capture, that the townsmen had been unable

effectually to renew them, and thus the town became an easy prey to the foe whenever they chose to make an attack; and the sea, being once allowed to force its way through the breaches in the ramparts, would in an inconceivably short time complete their ruin; indeed its power would be incredible to any one who has not actually witnessed its effects, with which we on our coast are only too familiar. One stormy night last January the sea burst through a weak point in our parade wall, and in the morning the huge disjointed fragments of fifty feet of masonry lay scattered on the beach.

It was useless to rebuild the burnt town on a site which had become uninhabitable; and the inhabitants, compelled to quit the lower parts of St. Michael's and the neighbouring parishes, migrated into the "New Burg" of *Domesday*, hitherto a small suburb on the Bourne, but which thus became the nucleus of a New Hastings endowed with all the privileges of the old one, just as New Romney succeeded Old Romney.

The churches did not escape the ruthless havoc of these French marauders; and scarcely a stone is left to tell of St. Leonard's, St. Margaret's, St. Peter's, St. Michael's, St. Andrew's, and St. George's.

It is pretty certain that St. Clement's and All Saints' met with no better fate; for they are both "perpendicular", and therefore must have been rebuilt subsequently to 1360, earlier than which no specimens of "perpendicular" are to be found.

The chapel in the castle would also seem to have been now used as a parish church, in lieu of those that had been ruined, and more particularly in place of St. Andrew sub Castro, the ruins of which were met with some years ago just to the north of Wellington Square, within the modern St. Mary's Parish, and a few yards beyond the present boundary of St. Andrew's Parish. The seafaring population, expelled from their ancient homes and clustering round the castle hill, formed a new quarter or parish; and on the rebuilding of the town in 1380, it was divided into three parishes: St. Clement, All Saints, and St. Mary in the Castle (Barry's *Guide*, 1794), which latter parish we now hear of for the first time. In the previous century, Old Winchelsea, which stood on low ground and was dependent



on artificial defences against the sea, had its walls destroyed by Prince Edward, when he took it by storm, after the Battle of Evesham. The consequence was, that within ten years, the town was overwhelmed by the waters; and the townsmen having made their peace with the Prince, now King Edward I, he granted them lands on which they erected New Winchelsea. The circumstances, therefore, under which Old Winchelsea and Old Hastings were transferred to other sites are very similar, the change in both cases being due to a combination of political and natural causes, and in both cases not a vestige of the original town remains.

The monks of the Holy Trinity still gallantly held their ground in the Priory Valley; but in 1410 they too had to succumb to their enemy the sea, and retired to Warbleton, where Sir John Pelham gave them lands, in lieu of the inundated Priory. Within thirty years the lower part of the valley was reduced to the condition of a swamp, and utterly abandoned both by burgesses and priests. A few still lingered in the upper town of St. Michael's, known as "Cuckoo".

In a list, of date subsequent to Edward IV, we find a curious fractional arrangement of the ships, Hastings contributing $3\frac{3}{4}$ ships, Romney $3\frac{1}{2}$, Sandwich $10\frac{1}{2}$, Seaford $1\frac{1}{4}$, Pevensy $1\frac{1}{4}$, Folkestone half a ship, and Fordwich three-quarters. Under Henry VII, the rents derived by the Abbot of Fécamp from his manor in Hastings were 35s. 4d. a year, of which the Bailiff of Hastings paid 5s.¹

In Henry VIII's reign (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*) we can test the decay of St. Michael's, and increase of St. Clement's. The church of St. Clement returned £23 6s. 9d.; the chantry in the church, £10 5s. 4d.; and in addition, the parish contributed £42 3s. to the New Priory: in all £75 15s. 1d. St. Michael's paid £8 2s. 2d. only, or less than one-ninth; two hundred and fifty years before it was rated at double. In 1544, Henry made Seaford a corporate body, consisting of bailiff and commonalty, to induce that ancient limb of Hastings to furnish somewhat more than five-fourths of a ship. In his Charter, he says, "*The town of Hastings... one of the greatest of the ancient towns of the ports afore-said, and near the sea, where the entrance of our enemies*

¹ This is no clue to the value of the manor, which would depend on the amount of fines for the renewal of leases, the leases being for nominal amount.

and rebels may soonest appear, is by the flux and reflux of the sea, and by conflagrations there often committed by such our enemies, not only of lands and tenements, but also of the inhabitants, there so reduced to waste, destruction, and poverty, that the said town or the barons and honest men of the same are not sufficient to find their part of such shipping to us and our heirs as they ought of their own strength, without their insupportable expense.”¹

The connection with the Abbot of Fécamp was finally severed on the dissolution of the alien priories. The discovery of the New World, and the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, brought into existence ships of much greater burthen and drawing more water than those which had hitherto served for commerce and warfare in the narrow seas. The largest ship of the old navy of the Cinque Ports was but eighty tons, whereas from this time ships of a thousand tons began to be built. The havens which had sufficient depth for such small craft could not admit more modern ships of war, and were deserted for the grander harbours of Portsmouth and of Plymouth.

To remedy this state of things at Hastings, a wooden pier was therefore carried out to sea, in a south-easterly direction, admitting large vessels to lay and unload alongside. This pier, about the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, was destroyed by a storm.² In the Queen’s patent for a new pier, we have another dismal picture of the town : “much decayed ; the traffic of merchants much decayed ; the traffic of merchants thither forsaken ; the fishing, by reason of the dangerous landing, but little used ; the rich and wealthy men gone thence ; and the poor men yet remaining would gladly do the like, if without offence to our laws they might be elsewhere received, whereby our people are likely to perish, and our said port likely to be subverted and become desolate.”³

Hastings, officially reported to be strongly seated and easy to be fortified at the time of the Spanish Armada, had twenty ships of from twelve to forty-two tons ; and I make no doubt that these ships, small as they were, did England good service ; for in that same year Hastings was raised from a bailiwick to a corporation, by the title of the mayor,

¹ Horsfield, i, 278.

² Moss, 127

³ A Handbook for Hastings, 24.

jurats, and commonalty of the town and port of Hastings, and her arms were slightly changed so as to bring them still nearer to the ancient royal arms ; for on the mayor's seal, which is as old as Elizabeth's reign, and therefore may be safely dated at 1588, we see a whole lion in the centre of the shield. The town has borne the arms ever since with this distinction, perhaps conferred for actual services against the dread Armada.

In 1595 the pier was begun to be rebuilt, but destroyed in the winter. In 1597 it was commenced again, and again swept away by a storm thus graphically described in the Corporation Records :—" Behold, when men were most secure, and thought the work to be perpetual, on All Saints' Day, 1597, appeared the mighty force of God, who, with the finger of His hand, at one great and exceeding high spring-tide, with a south-east wind overthrew this large work in less than an hour, to the great terror and amazement of all beholders."

In 1635, it was proposed to restore the ancient harbour in the Priory ; but the civil wars caused the design to be abandoned. The town was still defended by its wall towards the sea, as it was repaired as late as 1667. The remains of the intended pier may still be seen. Long rows of piles shew the direction it ran in. On one occasion, when a succession of south-easterly gales (rather unusual with us) had swept away the beach opposite the Albion, I distinctly traced the line of piles curving inward, marking that point as the head of the pier ; and it was at this same point that the two streams, the Bourne down George Street, and the Brook down Castle Street, mingled together as they flowed into the sea, and formed the backwater of the new harbour.

Thus, somewhat discursively, I have sketched out some solutions to the difficulties which beset our early history. If I have helped to remove some of them, still at the point at which I quit the subject I leave the town and harbour woefully beset, physically speaking.

ON FINCHALE PRIORY, DURHAM.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A., F.I.B.A., HON. SEC.

IT so rarely happens that the historian of monastic houses has to record any considerable decadence, until the time of the great suppression, that we approach this one with feelings of peculiar interest because of its continual poverty. The unusually sequestered nature of the situation, almost amounting to concealment, may have led to the comparative neglect with which it contended; and the distance from any well-worn track may have partly caused its being passed by, though complaint was continually made that the means at the disposal of the Priory were insufficient for the entertainment of the guests. This, however, may not mean that they were many; and if the approaches were in those days anything like those by which we now reach the Priory, they had need to "mend their ways"; and the wayfarers might easily, in both senses, "go farther" without "faring worse".

It is, however, one of those spots which, once reached, would, for those who cared not for the bustle of the world, have especial charms; and the sweet nature of the scenery, with which the Priory buildings assimilated as far as art can possibly agree with nature, would be fascinating to those who had once overcome the difficulties of the access, and knew the annoyances of a return.

Much speculation has been made on the antecedents of this monastery; more than can be again indulged in, for the charters, inventories, and account rolls, have now been printed *in extenso* by that admirable association, THE SURTEES SOCIETY. I naturally draw largely from this volume, and make my acknowledgments accordingly.

There have been attempts made, rightly or wrongly it is difficult to say, to identify Finchale with certain synods which have been held, namely in 788, 792, 798, and 810. These were assembled at either Pyncamhale,¹ Pincanheal,² Phincahnhal,³ Wincanhale,⁴ or Wincenhale.⁵ Spelman says

¹ Roger de Hoveden.

² Florence of Worcester. Roger de Wendover (Otho, B. 5, Cott. MSS.). In the original MS. the names are obliterated by fire.

³ Roger de Hoveden. ⁴ Florence of Worcester. Matthew of Westminster.

⁵ Henry of Huntingdon. Roger de Hoveden.

these names are all erroneous, and intended for "Fincen hale".¹ He further says that there was a town at Fincanhale: "Finchale hodie Finkeley villa est in episcopatu Dunelm, qui olim Regi Nordhumbrore paruit," etc.; and says that Henry de Hoveden refers to it as "villa in Rege Henrico II".² Surtees thought these synods were held at Fingale in Yorkshire.

Roger de Hoveden refers to Wincanheale, A.D. 767, as the place where Ethelwald lost the kingdom of Northumbria. Lambarde suggests it was Wighal (? Fingale) in Yorkshire. Whether or not these references belong to the site with which we are now concerned, it is certain that not a record or stone of Finchale Priory is earlier than the end of the twelfth century. The name is variously spelt. I give the different forms in the order in which they appear most frequently: Fynkhal, Fynchall, Fynchale, Finchale, Fyneckhall, Fynghall, Fynkehawlghe, Fintzhale, and Finchaluch.

The Priory was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, and had shrines to St. Godric and St. Cuthbert; and as the sanctity of St. Godric was the cause of its foundation, some account of him may be desirable in a condensed form. Although he was the occasion of the foundation of the Priory, and was eventually interred within its walls, his hermitage was a mile higher up the river; and "St. Godric's Garth" is said still to retain that title, on the spot where he practised his austerities; but no vestige of any structure remains, except some turf-covered foundations.³ The following is compiled principally from Roger de Wendover, who died some sixty-seven years after St. Godric,⁴ and from the Surtees Society's *Life of St. Godric*.

He was the son of poor parents, Æilward and Aedwen or Ædwenna, and was born in Hanapol or Walpol, in Norfolk,⁵ where he was reared, and entered into trade. He was early shewn that he was specially under divine care, for on being overtaken by a rising tide, he walked beneath the waves, guided by the Lord, in perfect safety. His faith and religion were strong, and at length he went on a pilgrimage

¹ *Concilia Britannica*, i, 301.

² *Ib.*, 305.

³ *Finchale Records*, p. xiii, preface. Throughout it is called "St. Godric's Croft."

⁴ See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, May 21, v.

⁵ It is doubted whether Walpole is the place referred to. (*Vide* Surtees' Soc., *Life of St. Godric*, p. 24.)

to Rome. Returning thence he became a mariner, and so continued for sixteen years, when he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and returned by way of Spain, in order to visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella. He shortly after made a second pilgrimage to Rome, accompanied by his mother, whom he carried on his shoulders whenever the way became difficult. On the journey, after passing through London, a woman of great beauty requested and received permission to accompany them; and without their ever ascertaining who she was, or what were her motives, she served them to and fro in a menial capacity, and only left them on repassing London; and the manner in which she departs shews that the author intended the inference to be drawn that she was none other than an angel; for she had been seen only by Godric and his mother, and left with a remark that God never deserted those who trusted in him. On his return he sold all he possessed, and left home to become a hermit. He came to some relatives in Carlisle, where he obtained a Psalter of St. Jerome. He soon retired to the woods, where he lived, miraculously respected by serpents and wild beasts. He subsequently found a hermit's cave, to which he was welcomed by the occupant, one Ailric, who considered he was sent to bury him, and be his successor. It does not, however, appear that this happened, for in about two years, when Ailric died, St. Godric was directed by a voice from Heaven, and by St. Cuthbert, who appeared to him in a vision, to go again to Jerusalem, and return to serve God at Finchale. He accordingly departed for Jerusalem. It was considered a holy thing to remain unwashed, and Godric, in this journey, neither changed his clothes nor washed until he came to the Jordan, where he bathed; and from that time he walked barefoot, but whether by choice or necessity we are not informed.

He returned to his native land, and built himself a log hut in Eskdale, and dwelt there more than a year, till the annoyances of the owners drove him back to Durham; here, however, he studied, and was only induced to leave by accidentally hearing a shepherd refer to Finchale for "watering the flocks"; and the effect of exorcising a wolf at that spot satisfied him it was the place intended for him. Obtaining, therefore, a permission from Ralph, Bishop of Durham, he formed a cave on the bank of the Wear:

here he was harassed by serpents until he commanded them to retire, which, of course, they did for ever. He dedicated his hermitage to St. John the Baptist, and on the site being granted to Durham monastery in the early part of the twelfth century, by Ralph Flambard, it was made a cell to that establishment.¹ We are told² that he was of middle stature, of ample chest, robust, etc.; and, indeed, he must have been, if we accept all that he is said to have undergone for fifty years or more. He declined offers of food and comforts, preferring to live a hard life by the labour of his hands; he burnt branches to ashes in order to mix one-third with the barley meal³ of which he made his bread. He reduced himself by watching, weeping, and fasting, and frequently refrained from eating for six days together, drinking nothing but water, and that only when compelled by necessity. The usual temptations and fears were unlimitedly presented by Satan, who was unsuccessful, the sign of the cross always driving off the saint's assailants. He wore the coarsest sackcloth, and was habited in a coat of mail. He reclined only on the bare earth, with his stone table for a pillow. The moonlight nights he spent in prayer; the winter nights, amid snow, in the river, naked, and immersed to the neck, singing psalms and praying in tears. On one of these occasions the devil carried off his clothes, such as they were, but the strength of Godric's lungs was such as to alarm the devil, who fled and abandoned his burden.

It could not fail to be inserted in such a history, that miracles were worked,—such, for instance, as restoring the dead to life; a child emerging from, and returning to, the Saviour's mouth, upon his crucifix, and nestling in the Virgin's arms; St. Peter descending and celebrating mass; the Virgin Mary and an angel, in snowy white, addressing him from the altar. A song was on the latter occasion taught him, which he was to sing whenever he required protection from temptation. It is preserved in three forms, as follow :

1. "Sainte Marie virgine, Moder Jesu Christes Nazarene, en-fo, seild, help pin Godric; on-fang, bring, e3htlech, pið pe in Gode's riche."⁴

¹ Grose, *Antiq.*, i.

² Surtees Soc., *Life of St. Godric*, pp. 30, 212.

³ Charcoal biscuits are not, therefore, a modern invention. They are now considered a luxury.

⁴ Surtees Soc., *Vita S. Godric*. 119.

2. "Seinte Marie, clane virgine,
 Moder Jesu Christ Nazarene,
 Onfo, seild, help thin Godrich
 Onfang, bring heali with the in Godes rich.
 Seinte Marie, Christes bour,
 Meidenes clenhed, moderes flour,
 Deliver mine sennen, regne in min mod,
 Bringe me to blisse wit thi selfe, God."¹

3. "Sancta Maria, virgo munda, mater Jesu Christi Nazareni, suscipe, addue, sancta, tecum in Dei regnum. Sancta Maria, Christi thalamus, virginalis puritas, matris flos, dele mea crimina, regna in mente mea, duc me ad felicitatem cum solo Deo."²

The comparison of works induces me to think that the monk of Durham who wished to write his life, and was at first refused information by Godric, and who is mentioned by Roger de Wendover as "N—", was the monk Nicholas, quoted by Harpsfield,³ and was not either the anonymous monk nor Reginald, as supposed by our associate, the Rev. Dr. Giles. The MS. life by Nicholas of Durham is in existence, and of a date to warrant my belief. The information was given to him only on condition of its not being made public during Godric's life-time.

During the last eight years of the saint's existence he was bedridden, and could not turn without help, and then only with great pain. My readers cannot be surprised at these rheumatic hints after having read the previous history; it is probable that he became paralysed, though his fall from bed is ascribed to a blow from the devil. It appears from this that he had ceased to sleep on the floor. He died on the 21st May, 1170, and was buried on the north side of his oratory, before the steps of the altar of St. John the Baptist, to whom and the Virgin Mary it was dedicated. His remains were subsequently removed to the Priory church, where he is supposed still to rest.

Pilgrimages were made to St. Godric's shrine, and many miraculous cures are said to have been made.

On the death of Godric two monks of Durham, Reginald and Henry, took up their abode there;⁴ at which time

¹ Roger de Wendover.

² Ib.

³ xii, c. 42.

⁴ Finchale Records, charter No. xx, p. 21.



there appears to have been a church, a mill and dam, and a fishery appertaining to it, as well as live stock. For the fabric of the monastery they were permitted to cut timber in the forests belonging to Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham. The Benedictine monastery, thus newly founded, and subject to that at Durham, was united with some others in its early days. Henry de Puteaco, or Pudsey, one of the natural sons of Bishop Hugh, in 1180, founded and endowed a monastery at "Essewella," near Durham. This was during the lifetime of his parents. No buildings were erected, but a monastery at "Bakestaneforde" being established shortly after, the two foundations, or endowments, were united. No buildings are known to have been erected there; and it would seem that a kind of rivalry existed between the monks at Durham and those of Bakestaneford, who were of a different order, which led to a transfer, in 1196, of all the interests in the two places to the small establishment at Finchale, which consisted of eight monks and a prior.

Hugh Pudsey, as we have seen, founded the monastery, and his son Henry added to its revenues by an enforced transference of his other establishments. Many other donations were made, for which I must refer to the Surtees volume before named; its wealth, however, was never great, and the monks do not appear to have had a very easy life.

The first prior, Thomas, sacrist of Durham, was appointed by Hugh Pudsey in 1196, and the church was soon after commenced; it proceeded, however, but slowly. The main fabric was not completed until long after 1264, a date fixed on by Dr. Raine in consequence of a grant of indulgences to those who should contribute.¹ A series of fifty-two priors conducted its affairs for about three hundred and forty years, until 1535, when it was dissolved amongst the "lesser" monasteries. The priors' names are given in the Finchale book without break. The income at the dissolution (26 Hen. VIII) was ascertained to be £146 : 19 : 2 gross,² and £122 : 15 : 3 net.³ The site was then granted to the Bishop of Durham. It is much to be regretted that the ruins have been dealt with as a quarry, as so many others have; and I trust the inhabitants of Durham will, in future, exercise a vigilance

¹ Finchale Records, p. 182. The indulgences really extend to 1277 (p. 188).

² Speed.

³ Dugdale, i, 512, and Finchale Records, ccccxvi.

over these beautiful remains so as to preserve them for future pleasure trips, as well as for study and research.

The account rolls extend from 1303 to the dissolution with but few gaps, and contain much interesting information as regards the progress of the fabric.

I have spoken of the singular decadence of this monastery, an historical fact which is palpably marked by the reduction of the size of the buildings in the fourteenth century. I have, after mature reflection and examination of the buildings and the accounts, satisfied myself that the church had not reached completion when it became necessary to reduce it within narrower limits. The church was begun by the erection and completion of the east end and choir. The transepts may have been erected then, or immediately after, with the central tower, but certainly the nave was not commenced until later, and with its aisles remained unroofed, probably until the monks found it would be impossible to complete them. The aisles of the nave and choir were then either pulled down, or converted, in order to avoid the expense of completion. When they had determined to reduce the area of the work, they proceeded more rapidly, and we find timber, boards, lead, slates, etc., in the accounts for several years.¹ The reredos of the high altar was erected in 1376-7, and not actually completed until 1463-4, when the cresting was placed on it. (See *infra*, pp. 77-79.)

The monastic accounts furnish the following particulars of materials employed in the work:—

In 1307. “Item in meremio in curia et ultra equam.”

“Item planchæ de quercu et de fraxino. Item centum de bordis de Estland emptis apud Novum Castrum. Item octoginta quarteria calcis. Item undecim millia de scelatis de quarrera de Lumlay præter scellatam existentem in curia. Item de ferro iij semis.”

In 1311. “Memorandum etiam de quadam camera de novo constructa, et de meremio adquisito pro domibus reparandis et construendis pretii xx marcarum ad minus.”

1338. “Memorandum quod soluciones pecuniæ per Thomam de Lund factæ, præter expensas factas circa edificia et præter expensas

¹ Mr. Gibson suggests it was waste committed by the Scots (p. 26). Dr. Raine says: “It is difficult to account for these dismemberments. Want of repair could not have been the cause, for the aisles had scarcely stood a hundred years.” They had not stood nearly so long as a century. See the earlier extracts from the rolls.

factas infra coquinam et extra pertinentes, se extendunt ad *vjl. xvjs. iiij l. ob.*"

In 1348-9. "Item in constructione domorum de Fynchale et Wyndgates per idem tempus [Ascension Day] *xvl. xvjs. ob.*"

In 1358-9 a number of horses, cows, etc., were sold, and salmon.

In 1360 we get, "Item in construccione novae domus pro J. de S., *xviijl. xivs. viijl.*"

In 1360-3. "Et in solucione facta carpentariis, cementariis, et aliis operariis ministrantibus eisdem *xviijl. iijs. iijl. ob., xxxjl. xiijs. ixl. ob., xxjl. xvijjs. ixl.*" respectively.

In 1363-4. "Et in solucione facta Willielmo Sclater, operanti super dormitorium ante adventum Johannis de Tykhill,¹ *xixs. iiijl.* Et in solucione facta carpentariis, cementariis, sarratoribus, scletariis et aliis operariis tam apud Fynghall quam apud Wyndgate per tempus com-
poti *cxvjs. viijl. ob.*"

In 1364-5, animals are sold again in a quantity. The materials, etc., paid for are, "in c bordis de Estland emptis cum cariagio *xxvijs. iiijl.* Et in stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum conductorum ad operandum dictum meremium *vjl. xvijl.* Et in stipendiis diversorum cementariorum operantibus petras circa dietam ecclesiam *xl. xs. viijl.* Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum dictos cementarios per vices *iiijl. xijs. ob.* Et in solucione facta Johanni de Bynchestre pro vitro fenestris ecclesiae *cs.* Et in solucione facta fabro pro *v^m* et dimidio de stanbrods, barres de ferro pro fenestris *x haxes de ferro emptis pro cementariis, et pikkes pro eisdem faciendis et acuendis lxixs. ixl.* Et in uno carpentario conducto ad faciendum unum parvum batellum pro piscacione cum diversis necessariis emptis pro eodem *xijs. ijl.* Et in sarratoribus conductis ad sarrandum arbores per vices *xls. vijl.* Et in solucione facta Johanni de Lonsdall et sociis suis scletariis cooperientibus domos *lxxvjs. vjl.* Et in *ij^m* de scletstan emptis apud quarrell' de Esshe *xiijs. iiijl.* Et in solucione facta Johanni plumbario et Willielmo socio suo pro factura unius conducti de plumbo ad ducendum aquam ad coquinam et pistrinum *xliijs. iiijl.* Et in plumbo empto de Thoma Lurtyng' pro eodem *vijs.*" The works are evidently at this time being pressed forward.

In 1365-6, we have paid "in c bordis de Estland emptis apud Novum Castrum cum cariagio *xxijs. ixl.* Et in stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum conductorum ad operandum apud Fynghall per tempus com-
poti," &c. *xvijs. ijl.* "Et in stipendiis diversorum cementariorum," &c. *xxl. vjs. ijl.* "Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum dictos cementarios et ad frangendum petras apud quareram *lxxis. viijl.* Et in solucione facta J. de Bynchestre pro vitro pro fenestris ecclesiae *cxjs. viijl.* Et in solucione facta fabro pro stanbrods haxes de ferro

¹ Prior from 1363 to 1367.

pro cementariis et pikkes pro eisdem faciendis et acuendis lxixs. iiij*l.*” (Sawing costs xls. iiij*l.*; slating and lime, xlvij*l.* s. iiij*l.*)

In 1366-7. “Et in ix^{xx} Hestlandborde emptis apud Novum Castrum cum cariagio xxxij*l.*s. Et in stipendiis cementariorum carpentariorum cum diversis hominibus conductis et serviendum eis, xxv*l.* v*l.*s. Et Johanni blumber pro cooperacione chori ecclesie et Johanni ledbetar cum altero Johanni blumber pro labore suo de anno preterito v*l.* xij*l.*s. x*l.* Et pro ferro empto et v^m et v^c de leydnail’ stanbrod schortnayll’ spiking cum haxis pro cementariis et barris pro fenestris ecclesie lxs. Et in sarracione meremii cum bordis et uno conducto ad faciendum lattis xx*l.*s. Et in calce empti per tempus compoti, xxxvij*l.*s. iiij*l.*..... Et Johanni Binchestir pro fenestris ex australi parte ecclesie et in aula, ix*l.* ii*l.*s. iiij*l.*.”

Here the choir is completely roofed. It is hardly likely that the other parts of the church had been until now. The dormitories and house only were finished in that respect.

In this year occurs “summa omnium expensarum ciij^{xx}x*l.* xv*l.*s. viij*l.* Et sic excedunt recepta expensas in *l.* xixs. x*l.*”

In 1360 they had in building stock “una nova corda pro carectis. Item ij mallei ferrei ij gavellocks j crauw ij wedges ij hamers pro lapidibus frangendis ij colepickes j hack ij^m iiij^c broddes c lednailes j picoise v*l.* petræ de ferro ij telæ plumbi pro ecclesia, ponderis xxx petrarum cum aliis tribus peciis plumbi.”

And in 1367, on the feast of Assumption B. V. M., they had “ij cordæ pro carectis ligandis, ij mallei pro quarer’ fragend’ v*l.* ferri pro cementariis j kevel j hammerhax v*l.* pounces v wegges ferri j tela plumbi xx petræ plumbi per estimacionem et x petræ plumbi in manibus Johanni Plumber iiij secures j gavilok ij hakkes novi j vetus ... ferri apud Lumley cum j corda.”

1367-8. Amongst the various receipts are, “Et de xij*l.*s. iiij*l.* receptis de domino Jhone de Shaftowe ad facturam fenestrarum in claustro. Et de x*l.*s. viij*l.* receptis de cementario pro mense (*sic*) sua dum fuerat super operacionem predictarum fenestrarum”..... “Summa totalis recepti cum remanenti et arreragiis c*cl.* x*l.*s. q.”

In the expenses, “Et in stipendiis cementariorum, carpentariorum, cum diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum eis et ad alia opera vij*l.* xij*l.*s. x*l.* Et pro ferro empto, cum stanbrod, spikyngh, schotnall, et aliis clavis et seris, cum clavibus et ligaturis twistis iiij*l.* iiij*l.* ob. Et in calce empti per tempus compoti vs..... Et in plumbo et capitibus conductis, et aliis emptis pro lotoriis factis in claustro xxxvi*l.*s. Summa expensarum clxx*l.* xv*l.*s. vij*l.* Et sic excedunt recepta expensas xxix*l.* xiv*l.*s. v*l.*.”

Thus we see the masons’ work diminishing, and the cloister beginning to receive attention, and the lavatory being formed.

In 1368-9, amongst the receipts are, "Et de vijl. receptis de minera de Softely et de xxxjs. receptis de minera de Lomly et non plus, quia minera per an' fuerat consumpta." The coal was, in other years, a source of considerable income.

In order to compare the items of expenditure I select the following: Expended for the kitchen, 35*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; carpenters' and others' wages, 14*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*; in iron nails, horseshoes, etc., 3*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*; lime, etc., 7*s.* 8*d.*; garde robe, 12*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*; oblations of prior and brethren, 13*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*; linen, 3*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*; stipends of household at Finchale and Windgate, 9*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*; sacristy tithes, 6*s.* 8*d.*; Oxford studentships, 3*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; other gifts, 3*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; expenses of prior at York in synods, 2*l.* 3*s.*; corn and carriage, 1*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*; necessities for church kitchen, pantry, etc., 15*s.*; horse food ("pane equorum"), etc., and repairs to harness, 10*s.* 11*d.*; two new saddles, one for prior and the other for burthen, 1*l.* 10*s.*; eleemosynary dues, 10*s.* 3*d.*; new glass for chamber windows, 13*s.* 4*d.*; wine and spices, 3*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*; flour, peas, etc., 20*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*; tithes of Newton, 6*l.*; seneschal of Zokflet, one year, 2*l.*; repayment of expenses in repairs, missions, etc., 6*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; animals, etc., 8*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; contributions and payments to Durham, 5*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

In 1372-3, amongst the expenses are: "In solucione facta domino Regi pro taxa ei concessa pro prima et secunda solucione secundi anni infra Dioceses Eborac. et Dunelm. vijl. xvs. xjd. In solucione facta Episcopo Carpentratie, ad regna Angliæ et Franciæ nuncio xvjs. In solucione facta collectori trium denariorum ad libram pro sublimento subsidii quadraginta librarum domino Regi concessi ix*s.* ij*d.* Et in solucione facta diversis carpentariis selatariis serrariis et aliis operariis per tempus compoti xvl. xiijs. iiij*d.*" Nails, etc., with other matters, cost 39*s.* 3*d.* The tithes of the croft of St. Godric are paid for the sacristy. The expenses are 25*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, exceeding the income by 29*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* The next half year appears to have been unfortunate, for it is stated that nothing was received from the manor of Wyndgates, nothing from the Lumley colliery, nothing from the dairy, nor from the manor of Thorp, nor from the pastures of Heswell. The result was a deficiency of 60*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* this year.

During 1374-5 the receipts were 212*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*, expenses 287*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, super expensis 75*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* (*sic*), showing, as in many other cases, that the monks were not accurate accountants. There are expenses for repairing mills, etc., and building a new stone pier to protect the Finchale mill¹ from the ravages of the river; and expenses repairing the stables—a large sum, in all 21*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, but none to the church, so the works must by this time have been completed. It may be interesting to know that this poor monastery gave in this year 50*s.* towards the reredos and the great altar at Durham.

The mill yielded no rent this year.

In 1375-6 the water-mill at Finchale is stated to have brought 30*s.* 10*d.* since the repairs, and the fulling-mill 38*s.* 8*d.* Total receipts, 265*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; expenses, 263*l.* 1*s.*; super expendit 58*s.* 5*d.* (*sic*) This larger receipt appears to have induced the monks to continue the repairs, for there is an outlay of 36*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* in "*Ferro, plumbo, tabulis, scelttis, calce, meremii sarracione et caricione, clavis, seris, ligaturis, et aliis hujusmodi ad edificandum necessariis, et conductione carpentariorum, latomorum et aliorum operariorum et serviencium eisdem circa stagnum et domos et alia diruta reparanda apud Finkhall, Dunelm et alibi.*"

1376-7. The total receipts are 206*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* (25*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* are spent in labour and materials); total expenses, 205*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*; 24*s.* 5*d.* super expendit, and so this goes on; about 25*l.* or 30*l.* for repairs, and about one or two pounds expenditure greater than income until the end of the thirteenth century, when the repairs cease to be so onerous, but the income is still less than the outlay. In the expenses occurs "*facta ad r'yr'dos magni altaris, 1*s.**"

1406-7. The plumbers' work over the choir cost, in this year, with other works, 43*s.* 6*d.*; 65*s.* 1*d.* was paid for a new somersadyll, new "*hacknaysadill,*" and five load saddles. The carpenter's salary is 66*s.* 8*d.*

1407-8. The refectory was slated. We have 3^m sclatstanes, which with the pointing cost 66*s.* 8*d.*

1410-11. The windows were repaired.

In 1411 the expenses exceeded the income by 112*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*, but 112*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* were owing to the house. I find mention of furniture in the prior's house, but none in other parts. The prior's chamber contained, for instance, two long table-covers and one short one of red, one of arras of divers colours, two cushions, one curtain before a bed, one chair next the prior's bed, one form and cushion, one table and a smaller table, five curtains, two pokers and tongs for the fire, namely one for the prior's chamber and one for the light¹ chamber, one easy chair for invalids next the latrine, one large chest; lead estimated at twenty stone, and in the hand of Thomas the "*plumbar*" thirty stone; one great pelvis (basin?) under the great chest. They do not appear to have litigated many questions. Only from 1411 to 1417 do I find:

1411-2. "*Expensis pro defensione causæ contra Johannem Cramlyngton 40*s.* 8*d.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* Item in donis datis domino Radulpho Eure et juridicis pro defensione domus de Fynchall contra Cramlyngton 53*s.** (Both were customers of the priory.)

1412-3. "*Item in donis datis juridicis pro defensione domus de Fynchall contra dominum Johannem de Lomley*" (no sum), a tenant who was sometimes in arrear.

¹ Ludencium.

1414-5. "Item in donis datis juridicis pro defensione causæ de Cokyn contra dominum Johannem Lomley et Cramlyngton 13s. 4d.;" and again in 1417, 3s. 4d. They had at least one bell, for in 1415 they expended 66s. 8d., for it. In this year they again become involved, the deficit being 96l. 16s. 1d., reduced by estimate to a balance of 3l. 8s. 2d.; and next year 99l. 3s. 2d., reduced to a credit of 2l. 11s. 7d., and again in 1419 increased to 115l. 5s. 9d., still showing, however, a credit of 43s. 8d.; in 1424, 131l. 16s. 2d.

1418-9. 119s. 1d. was paid to the king for a tenth, and 58s. 11d. in 1424 for half a tenth, and again 58s. 10d. in 1428, and in almost every succeeding year a like sum. 18l. 12s. 10d. appears again for repairs after about ten years rest. The infirmary is now first mentioned as being built, and again occurs in 1429. This I consider was not in contact with the buildings now standing.

In 1425-6 we find "In contribucione facta ad constructionem camere prioris 40s."

1427-8. The nave was repaired to the extent of 6l. in carpentry.

1430-1. 4l. given towards building at the church of Durham. 35s. 4d. paid for hangings, cushions, and table-covers.

1432-3. 4l. to the bell-tower of Durham. 10s. a year was distributed for many years to poor persons in the prior's house. In all their poverty they could yield their mite to those poorer than themselves.

In 1434-5 the fulling-mill is rentless, and described as wasted, as it has been since 1402-3, when it was laid waste by a great flood. In 1437-8 it disappears from the list of properties.

In 1436-7 they paid 13s. 4d. for a picture of Saint John the Baptist. Sometimes they sell salmon, 5l. worth or so, especially when the sale of coal fails.

1437-8. They pay for a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary 10s.

1439-41. The fulling mill is again mentioned in the first account of a new prior, but still described as "waste."

In 1442-3 the super-expenditure reaches 204l. 18s. 5d.

In the year 1448-9, the fulling mill, which, on the occasion of a new prior, had been again mentioned, is for the first time described as wholly wasted; but in this year there is on the account, as to solvency, a balance of 4l. 10s. 4d. in favour of the Priory.

In 1457-8, 12d. was paid for mending the Chapter House windows. The dormitory was reroofed at a cost of about 12l. 6s., viz., for 15,500 slatestones, 4l. 13s., and carriage from the quarry of Essh for thirty-three fother, 1l. 10s. 8d.; 3^m laths and carriage, 1l. 8s.; labour, 3l. 12s. 5d.; ditto, to "tectura majoris orrei", 1l. 2s.

In 1459-60, plastering and pointing cost 45s. 8d.; glazing windows of "aula", 27s.; and for "costeris novis pro ornacione murorum aulæ", 28s. were paid to Alice Bird of Newcastle. This Alice Bird buys sheep-

skins, etc., of the Priory for many years. Richard Baxter is paid for "tinctura earundem costerarum", 23s.

For several years a few thousand slates were required, shewing considerable but gradual repairing. The "Douglas Tower" is first named in 1460-61. 25s. 8d. "pro nova tectura lateris borealis Camere Prioris et Douglestour, una cum aliis reparacionibus factis apud Fynkall et Dunelm"; 20s. 9d. paid for quarrying stone; 8s. for roofing-laths; 3s. 4d. for two chaldrons of lime; 23s. 4d. "pro vitriacione fenestrarum, videlicet quinque luminum in Camera Prioris"; 10s. 8d. "pro factura lez gutters apud Fynkall cum xxij petris plumbi."

1463-4. Tiles and slates are again 27s.; and 26s. 7d. the next year. William "Plomer" received 11s. 5d. for mending the aqueduct with "sowdour". William "Payntour" received 26s. 8d. for a new picture, "tabernaculi Eucaristiæ", and "j le creste supra magnum altare", and for two picture altar-cloths.

1464-5. There is an expenditure "operantibus pro nova tectura unius cameræ vocatæ le playerchambre, una cum tectura unius domus infra tenementum magistri Roberti Bartram", etc.... "Et pro factura le gutters predictæ cameræ una cum xl petris plumbi pro eisdem, 16s." ... "Latamis pro factura unius parvæ domus ad occidentalem finem ecclesiæ, 40s.;¹ carpentry to same, 18s.; and for the "syloryng" same, 16d.; 18s. for glazing; 46s. 8d. for a new table to the altar of "Sanctæ Crucis"; 113s. 4d. for three glass windows in southern part of choir; and "Thomæ Hexham nunc priori pro erectione novi ostii et introitus ad aulam una cum erectione unius novæ fenestræ in aula, 40s."

1466-7. Each prior seems to have owed a sum of money, at his death, to the Priory; and in this year no less than 119l. 13s. 8d. was due by the four preceding priors,² which was written off as losses many years after their death. The payments include 6,000 slates, 36s.; twelve cart-loads carried, 10s.; new wall, "unius orrei," 22s.; "punctuacione lateris borialis aulæ et lateris australis cameræ prioris, et lateralis orientalis cameræ hospicii, 5s. 8d.," with laths and works generally; William "Glasyer" for glass window in south gable of dormitory. The "boy bishop" costs annually 3s. 4d., for many years consecutively.

1467-8. The income by this time has amounted to nearly 200l. a year, but the expenditure keeps pace with it. "Waynscots" bought cost 13s. 4d.; 4^m slates, 24s.; 2^m laths, 17s. "Leonardo Hall carpentario" receives 12s. for "factura unius pentese ad cameram vocatam Dwglestour ac pro le ywnnyng in dicta camera et in aliis diversis locis ibidem"; and William Glasyer, for glazing windows in same chamber and in the prior's chamber, 32s.; the slater receives 20s.; stone cutter, 26s. 8d.

¹ This is the hospitium, which shews the style of the fifteenth century.

² Henry Feryby, 19l. 8s. 8d.; John Oll, 3l. 0s. 2d.; Thomas Aeyre, 37l. 0s. 8d.; Richard Bell, 60l. 4s. 2d.

1468-9. Four score Sunderland wainscots, 23*s.* 4*d.* ; 3^m slates, 2^m tile-laths ; repairs above the south part of church, 10*l.*

1469-70. 3^m slates, 18*s.* 6*d.* ; laths, 19*s.*, – and, indeed, this occurs many years following. “Thomæ Schaldon pro vitriacione unius fenestree supra altare Sanctæ Mariæ in australi parte ecclesiæ de Fynkhal, 60*s.* ; donis datis ministraliis¹ et aliis pauperibus”, 3*s.* 4*d.* The stipends occur every year for slater, stone-cutter, etc.

1475-6. Stonework to a window of the church, 11*l.* ; and glass for same, 66*s.* 8*d.*

1476-7. The glass in the north gable of the church costs 113*s.* 4*d.*

1477-8. The expenses having been carefully kept about 20*l.* within the income, for the first time in the accounts (reckoning, however, the bad debts of the priors), there appears a surplus, but only of 14*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* This, however, disappears next year, and *never reappears*.

1480-1. Considerable repairs occur, amongst others the bell-towers and buttresses, 20*s.* 10*d.* ; new “stagnum” to mill, “inter le lok et parvum pontem” ; and a new wall between the mill and said bridge, on east side, etc.

1482-3. Amongst the expenses is “una cisterna de plumbo empto pro le larder-howse de Fynkhal, xxvijs. viij*d.*” ; and “pro nova factura tocus aqueductus de Fynkhal, xliijs. iiij*d.*” ; nine *sheaves* (shaffis) of glass, 6*s.* 8*d.* ; “pro factura unius domus infra ortum prioris de Fynkhal, 9*s.* 10.”

1484-5. New roof to chancel of church, 23*s.* 4*d.*, and two gutters ; for mending “glass” windows, 2*s.* 10*d.*

1485-6. Paid for mending silver salts, 5*s.* 11*d.* ; and an exchange of nineteen silver spoons, 26*s.* 10*d.*

For many years the domestic and farm buildings were being repaired with new roofs, etc.

1488-9. An unusual quantity of slates are delivered, viz., 16*m.*, 4*l.* 6*s.*, and 64*s.* for their carriage to Fynkhal ; labour “in nova tectura unius domus vaccarum noviter constructæ, 36*s.* 4*d.*”, and other considerable works to the new cow-house. For plastering and colouring the church, chalk and lime, etc., 38*s.* “Et pictori de Chester operanti apud Fynkhal, 3*s.* 8*d.*” One new vestment for church, 72*s.* (The previous vestments had been repaired repeatedly.) Robert Pety of York, glazier, receives 65*s.* 2*d.* for “nova vitriacione cum le sowder et plumbo ac ferramentis pro iij fenestris in fine orientali cancellæ ecclesiæ de Fynkhal.” And Wm. Blyth “pro le rabytyng et factura staykfaldhollis, et replecione eorundem, 2*s.* 2*d.*” There is also a charge for purging and washing the church, probably on completing this work. 108*s.* 4*d.* for “leȝ hallyngs de sago viridi pro aula.”

1489-90. In this year there were new animals' houses and a west

¹ Minstrels seem to be treated as “paupers”.

door, a new columbarium; the garden wall built; and the "old" orchard is mentioned as being "mended".

In 1490-1 there are considerable works to the dormitories, etc., and in "nova construccione domus Beati Godrici."

1495-6. Four rods of new roof to the cloister cost 20s. Raising four windows in cloister, 16 days, 6s. 8d. The industrial nature of the establishment is shown by the purchases here of "hukeȝ, choppyng-knyffeȝ, flayngknyffe, and stekyngknyffȝe, and leȝ wombleȝ," etc. The usual expenditure on parchment, paper, and writing, had for many years been 4s. per annum, but in late years the sum is reduced to "two quires of paper, 6d.", and in the final account but one quire, 3d. (1528-9.)

I do not pretend to have exhausted these rolls, and refer my readers to them for many particulars which are highly interesting. I now proceed to the church, which consisted, in its original form, of a long and narrow nave with aisles, a choir with aisles, and a chancel or chapel beyond without aisles, but with either a chantry or sacristy on the north side. There were transepts, a chapel being attached to the northern arm. All the aisles, which were never finished, have been removed except the south aisle of nave, which has been converted into a part of the cloister walk.

The conventual buildings are on the south side of the church, and at first sight appear to be so placed in opposition to the usual monastic rule, the river seeming to be on the north. The block plan¹ will show that the windings of the stream are so great that the buildings are as much placed in their usual relative position as was possible. The difficulties arising from the rapid rise of the site have been overcome by masterly, but simple, means, as was customary with mediæval architects. Owing to the slope of the ground the necessity existed for the "stepping" of the stories, and thus the refectory, which is on a level with the orchard, is on the upper story of the buildings, with a crypt under it, used as cellarage in lieu of the usual place on the west of the cloister, where, in this instance, was simply a retaining wall, the cloister being excavated out of the slope.

¹ I have to acknowledge, with thanks, the use of the plans of the Priory, admirably drawn by Mr. Charles Hensman, and which obtained a prize at the Institute of Architects. Mr. Hensman exhibited his complete set of drawings at one of our meetings last summer, with a permission, of which I have partly availed myself, to make use of them. His drawings are in course of publication, under his own direction.

The prior's lodging was in the ordinary position, to the east of the cloister. There is considerable difficulty in discovering the situation of some of the buildings, for instance, the hospitium and the kitchen. The position of the dormitory has been also a matter of question, but I see no room for doubt on that head, as no other place is possible than the usual one, over the east of the cloister.¹ As regards the kitchen, Dr. Raine² places it at B in the plan (plate 1), perhaps because of a hatch in the wall there; but it is more likely that it was at C, or adjoining eastward, that part containing what appears to be an oven, and may have been the bakery. The hospitium for superior guests was probably part of the prior's lodging, and that for the poor wayfarers at A in the plan. This hospitium is first named in 1466-7 (*supra*, p. 79), and the chamber at A was erected in 1464-5 (*ib.*), and finished two years later. In the plan (plate 1) the original construction is defined by the black tint, and appears to be of about the year 1200, the lighter parts are of about the years 1360-70, and some as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, such as the hospitium and east part of the prior's chapel.

The nave was the widest part, and the lowest level of the church; its floor rose by several steps from west to east, and it diminished eight or nine inches in width; at the west end were lancet windows. The piers, which are now much concealed by the more recent wall, were alternately round and octagonal. I think they *all* had sculptured capitals, but it is not easy now to determine. Dr. Raine³ thought that the tower was an afterthought and inserted. I have already suggested that the true account of the marks of separation between the tower and the nave is that the eastern part of the church, as was usually the case, was first proceeded with, and that a rest in the work occurred when it had been completed, as far as, and inclusive of, the tower. Upon the respond attached to the south-west pier of the tower, the carved ornament, or dog-tooth, at F differs in design from the ornament executed in continuation of it when the work of the

¹ The "south gable" (see *supra*, p. 79), in fact, determines the point. Mr. Gibson places it on the west; but there were no buildings there, except, perhaps, some sheds or stables on the upper surface, outside the retaining wall. See Gibson's *Sketches of Northumbrian Castles and Antiquities*, p. 31.

² Finchale Records, p. xx.

³ Preface, *Finchale Records*, p. xix.

nave was resumed. Near this same pier, in the nave at E, is a double recess, which has been a stumbling-block to all observers. It is placed so much out of reach, and besides has undergone some alteration, so that I confess to having been at first unable to offer an explanation. It seems, however, to have been a shrine approached by a series of steps. It consists of an arched recess, or reliquary, with a square aumbry beside it belonging to an altar, which was at F.

The tower is said by Dugdale¹ to have been surmounted by a stone spire, but the view he gives shows one borne on the four stone arches, and covered with shingles. I think, from the nature of the piers, that the view is more likely to be accurate than the text. The tower may have been vaulted, and indeed a key-boss is preserved which is said to have come from that vault. The piers are cylindrical with very plain moulded capitals; the work of the capitals is much ruder than the adjacent mouldings; moreover the stone of the caps and great arches is similar to that used in the later alterations, so that probably the upper part of the tower ought to be included in the later period assigned to the construction of the nave.

The north transept had lancet windows on the west side, with rebates for wooden lattices or casements remaining to this day. An altar on the east side (H) corresponds with that in the south,² and may have been St. Godric's. In the south transept is the altar, just named, to the Blessed Virgin Mary,³ *supra*, p. 80 (I); and at the south end, a stair to the dormitory.

The choir extended from the transept piers as far eastward as the sculptured capitals, which can be seen emerging from the more recent walling. Here was the high altar, dedicated to St. John the Baptist,⁴ and the enclosure (G) of the chancel or chapel; two sedilia are on the south side. This chapel, which most likely contained the shrine of St.

¹ Original edit. *Monasticon*, i, 512.

² Altars are mentioned to the Virgin Mary, St. Cuthbert, St. John the Baptist, St. Godric, and St. Cross (pp. 167, 169, 183, 191, ccxvi, of Rolls). The church is sometimes said to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or St. John the Baptist and St. Godric.

³ The altar to the Virgin is somewhat unusually placed, though not unique. (See Wimborne in *Conventual Arrangement*, by Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, p. 107); and Durham itself afforded some authority (see vol. xxii, p. 206, *Journal of British Archaeological Association*). At Rochester it is the south transept.

⁴ Records, p. 169.

Godric, being the most usual place for relics of the kind, has a double piscina on the south side, with a credence and an aumbry on the north side. There was no great window in any part of the church, except at the east end (probably inserted later, and reglazed in 1488-9,—see *supra*, p. 80), a large sculptured capital of which is lying on the floor; there are many pieces of early English moulding lying near.

The remains of a sacristy are visible on the north side of St. Godric's shrine, and a chapel at L on the east of the north transept, with probably the altar of "sanctæ crucis"; unless this was the chapel of St. Godric, for which there is some ground of belief; a dispensation of Archibald, bishop of Moravia, in 1266, referring to it as "*capella Sancti Godrici de Fynkehal, et ad fabricam fenestræ versus partem orientalem dictæ capellæ, et omnium fenestrarum in posterum in dicta capella fabricandum,*" etc. (See *Records*, p. 183.) The only portions to which this can apply are the transepts, the north-east chantry, and the chapel at L. The south transept is distinctly appropriated to the Virgin Mary, and I fix on the north transept as the next most important place for St. Godric's altar; pointing out, however, the other possible spots. In the wall here is an ancient tombstone built into the work. In the north transept also is lying an early cope-stone. The cloister had a wooden lean-to roof. The lavatory was in the centre of the garth. On the south was the refectory with cellars beneath. A door led from the cloister walk to a stair, by which access was had to the orchard, or park, as well as to the refectory. The refectory windows were closed with wooden casements. On the east side of the cloister was the Chapter House¹ next the transept. The slype and treasury and stair to the upper floor adjoin this, and farther on is the culinary department. On the upper story here were the dormitory, and over the southernmost end the day-room and scriptorium spreading eastward. The day-room, however, may have been at B—though I think not—where Dr. Raine places the kitchen.

The prior's lodging is without a cloister, but is situated

¹ Dr. Raine's plan shews this correctly. Mr. Sydney Gibson considers it should be further south. In this he is mistaken. Mr. Mackenzie Walcot also places it south of a "library"; but in this and two other references, out of four, he has been misinformed. (*Conventual Arrangement*.)

in the usual place. The chambers are small but handsome. The Douglas tower is one of those troubles which antiquaries meet with continually ; no one has assigned a satisfactory reason for its name. It was part of the prior's house, and contains in the lower part the only observable latrine (at K). The principal floor has a late oriel, now destroyed, except the base, which is supported by a buttress, and, by some modern whim, is absurdly called a "wishing-chair." It is simply the corbelling of the oriel window, and, owing to the view obtainable, was very likely to be a favourite seat. The prior's kitchen has been gravely stated to be at D, but no better reason for the assertion exists than the modern erection of a fire-place for pic-nic parties ; it will be found more appropriately marked on my plan. The hospitium I place at A. I find there the remains of some provision for cooking, viz., in the south-west corner an oven in a recess. There were many other buildings, now scarcely definable, such as the chapel at the gate, the granary, stables, mills, etc. A farm-house occupies the site of some of them, and stables and other farm buildings still exist on the ancient sites.

It is difficult to obtain a view of the buildings which will possess architectural value, so dilapidated are they in all parts ; nor is it easy to do justice, in an illustration, to the beauty of the scenery and picturesque effect of the ruins. Plate 2, from a photograph taken for this occasion, perhaps unites the two purposes as well as could be done in one small drawing.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 9.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

Edward Conduitt Dermer, Esq., 3, Lonsdale-road, Barnes

Rev. John Milner, Beech Hurst, Cuckfield, Sussex.

The thanks of the Association were voted for the following presents :
To the Society. For the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute.

No. 90. 8vo.

„ „ For the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association.
 January 1867. 8vo.

„ „ For the Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 87. 8vo.

Through Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Mr. Thomas W. Davies of Barnes presented for exhibition some forgeries, in metal, of mediæval objects, which had been purchased of workmen engaged in the great subterranean works now being carried on in the City.

Mr. G. Wright also produced another beautifully coloured pedigree (see p. 452, vol. xxii), by the Rev. C. H. Browne, of the *Irish portion* of the family of the Montagues, whose great ancestor, Sir Anthony Browne, was created a knight in the time of Richard II, at his coronation ; and from him the great Sir Anthony Browne of Henry VIII's time descended. These pedigrees are in illustration of Mr. G. Wright's paper read at the Hastings Congress, "On the Family of Sir Anthony Browne, first Possessor of Battle Abbey after the Dissolution," which will be printed in the *Journal* of the Association.

Mr. Wimble exhibited further remains (see p. 445, vol. xxii) brought to light during the excavations in Southwark-street. Two of them Mr. Wimble found on Dec. 20, at the bottom of the piles. One is the distal half of the metatarsus of the ox, with the shaft divided diagonally, so as to produce an edge, which may have served as a sort of chisel, and bears a strong resemblance to one of the objects from this locality exhibited on Nov. 28, 1866. The second article seems to be a

rude fish-hook formed of the right zygomatic arch of a sheep. The next object, in point of antiquity, is a Celtic ring, found Dec. 19. It may be described as a stout wire hoop of copper bronze, cast, with some ornament in front, but so ruined by corrosion that its exact nature cannot be determined. In Mr. Cuming's collection are the remains of a very similar ring, found, with calcined bones, in an urn at Seaford, Sussex, 1820. Of later date than the foregoing is an iron *stylus*, four inches and five-eighths long, with flat-sided end for smoothing the wax; and a bone *spatula*, six inches and three quarters long, with a shovel-shaped blade. These two objects, like the Roman *fictilia* here found, no doubt belonged to the villa which stood a short distance off, on the other side of Southwark-street.

The Chairman stated that, since he made the report of the discoveries in Southwark-street, on Nov. 28, more piles had been uncovered; some few being pointed at each end, and employed, in all probability, in a palisade. They call to mind the "sharp stakes" which the Britons, according to Bede (i, 2), drove into the bed of the Thames to hinder the passage of Cæsar.

Mr. Cuming also announced that on Dec. 27 he visited an excavation at the corner of Guildford-street, opposite the angle of the wall of Pott's Vinegar Works, and there saw a number of piles averaging about five feet in height; some rudely squared, others retaining the bark; the only tooling about them being their pointed bases. This cluster of piling was bedded in an inky black soil like that surrounding the timbers on the other side of Southwark-street. Mr. Cuming did not observe any Roman remains in this spot.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a large assemblage of objects of cast pewter, discovered in London during the last few years, and extending in date from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. Some slight notion may be gathered of the variety of interest of the collection, when it is known that it comprises Danish brooches, hat and breast brooches, with a fermail of the fourteenth century inscribed AV. MARIA. GRACIA. PLENA; girdle-studs; the volet of a shrine, bearing three shields of arms on each side; badges of the royal houses of York, Lancaster, and Tudor; feet of statuettes; an *ampulla*; and *signacula* of divers saints,—among others those of the Virgin, John the Baptist, the kings, Oswald, Kenelm, Olave, and Edward (ECCE EDWARDVS); Hubert and Leonard, and mitred bishops; Thomas of Canterbury being conspicuous, and his glove one of the rarest of his signs. From this rich mine of mediæval art our pages will probably be enriched as time progresses.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited an *ampulla*-shaped jar or bottle, about three inches and three quarters high, of well-baked earthenware, overspread in great part by a brownish black, plumbiferous glaze. This vessel

was found in the remains of the moat at Cranshaw Hall, Bold, near Warrington, Nov. 1866; and was probably designed to hold some balsamic substance or viscid essence. Its date cannot be later than the sixteenth century.

Dr. Kendrick also produced a portion of chain-armour, found in June 1866, in a caldron of bright brass, together with other pieces of chain and plate mail, spear and sword points, axes, hammers, bridle-bits, and what are presumed to be armourers' tools; the whole "find" weighing several stone. This caldron was recovered from Carlinwork Lock, Castle Douglas; the finder, Mr. Samuel Gordon, conjecturing that it was lost in the year 1300, when Fir Island was occupied by Edward I. The size of the ring of the armour (three tenths of an inch in diameter) forbids, however, its assignment to an earlier period than the sixteenth century. A notice of the discovery is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1866.

Mr. W. Powell exhibited a specimen of glazed tile and a moulded brick. These fragments of a building were found in a sea-wall at Reculvers, Kent; at the Castle, which wall has been recently destroyed in consequence of the building of a new sea-wall. Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., remarked that the tile is evidently mediæval, and glazed black. The brick appears to be part of a shaft-brick (three feet six inches diameter) with a bowtell on its outer side. It is of the Elizabethan period. The wall in which the fragments have been used as rough material had therefore, it would seem, no claim to mediæval antiquity.

Mr. Gordon Hills (Treasurer) called attention to the discovery of a Roman pavement, in the beginning of December last, under the floor of Chichester Cathedral. It was brought to light in excavating for the foundation of the reredos about to be erected behind the communion-table. It was consequently nearly on the chord of the original Norman apse or chevet of the Cathedral. It was about eight feet in length, and from three inches to three feet in width. It was about four feet below the floor. A part has been allowed to remain, though necessarily again concealed. The tesserae are of red brick, about an inch square, and half an inch thick, irregularly shaped. They were laid on about three inches of coarse lime mortar. Mr. G. L. Purchase of Chichester, who communicates this description, says (Dec. 14, 1866) some account of it is in the last number of the *West Sussex Gazette*.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills called attention to an account of the life and forgeries of the celebrated "Flint Jack", forwarded to him by an associate, Mr. Spurr of Scarborough. This account was published in a Yorkshire paper (*The Moulton Messenger* of Dec. 29, 1866). It gives a very complete account of the wanderings of this accomplished imitator of antiquities, useful to collectors as a guide to the places in almost every part of England, and some in Scotland and Ireland, where the

works of this man have made spurious antiquities to abound. The account of James Simpson, *alias* "Flint Jack", can be had (price 6d.) at the office of *The Mutton Messenger*.

Mr. B. Roberts, F.S.A., made the personal acquaintance of this man at Norwich, through our Associate, Mr. Fitch, and could testify to the skill with which, in a few hours, he produced flint implements from sketches furnished to him.

The Treasurer then read a paper, "On the Antiquities of Hastings," by Thomas H. Cole, Esq., M.A., which is printed in full at pp. 34-66 *ante*. Mr. Hills said that the points upon which Mr. Cole chiefly dwelt were, that the original site of the town was in St. Michael's parish; that the embankments were contemporaneously destroyed by the foreign enemies and by the sea; that these embankments were the "mirificis molibus" mentioned in the correspondence of Cicero's brother, when accompanying Cæsar's invasion; and the identification of a part of Hastings with the *Domesday* "New Burg."

Mr. H. S. Cuming remarked that the landing of William the Conqueror on Michaelmas Day might account for the dedication of an ancient part of Hastings to St. Michael.

JANUARY 23.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

James Edmonds, Esq., of 67, Baker-street, Portman-square, was elected a member.

Thanks were returned to the Royal Society for No. 88 of the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*.

Lord Boston, President, transmitted for exhibition a beautiful fragment of a Roman statuette,—a left hand holding the *thyton* (a drinking-horn), through the perforated base of which the wine was allowed to flow into the mouth. Such goblets are introduced in banquets depicted on the fictile vases of Magna Græcia, and on the walls of Pompeii; and the figure in question, in all probability, represented a guest at a symposium. This delicate piece of sculpture is of *giallo antico*, nearly an inch and three quarters long, apparently the work of the first or second century, and was purchased by its noble owner in Italy.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., remarked that though the quarry whence the *giallo antico* was obtained must have been worked as early as the first century, its exact situation remains to this day an enigma. Most of the examples of this beautiful marble that are known, seem to have been found in ruins in Italy, more or less wrought; the pains exhibited on many of the objects attesting the high esteem in which it was



anciently held. One of the earliest and largest works in *giallo antico* which this country possesses, was presented to the British Museum in 1757 by Thomas Hollis. It is the head of the Emperor Vitellius, with the *paludamentum* formed of black marble. This bust rests on a base, the whole measuring ten inches and seven-eighths in height. This important piece of sculpture has every appearance of being an *ad vivum* portrait; and as Vitellius was killed A.D. 69, it may fairly be accepted as a production of the first century.

It would be difficult to point out a carving in *giallo antico* exceeding in ingenuity of conception and masterly finish the polyccephalic amulet engraved in the *Journal* (viii, 1), which Mr. Cuming again exhibited. This fine and rare object measures two inches and a half by one and three quarters, and has such a Grecian air about it that it may aptly be compared, in style of execution, with the Hephestian Hercules numbered 5562 in Tassie's *Catalogue of Gems*.

Mr. Cuming also produced a tessera of *giallo antico* from the Temple of Minerva Medica at Rome, one inch and three quarters by three quarters of an inch in size. This was formerly in the Croker collection.

The Italian artists of later ages have employed Sienna marble in place of the precious *giallo antico*; and to shew the difference between the two substances, Mr. Cuming submitted some polished slabs of the *brocatella di Siena*.—one slab being veined with red; another, from Montarenti, having purple-black veins. The latter specimen once formed part of the collection of the Duchess of Portland, sold in 1786.

Mr. Edmonds exhibited a gold ring of about the middle of the last century, set with an antique gem (a cameo), three-quarter-mask to the left, of Carneades, boldly and beautifully wrought on a calcedony of two strata, measuring three quarters of an inch by half an inch. In Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* (ii, 112) is an incuse profile portrait of the same philosopher, engraved on agate.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced a profile bust, to the right, of Carneades, with the name ΚΑΡΝΙΑΔΗΣ beneath the draped shoulder. It is on an oval plaque of copper, one inch and seven-eighths by one inch and a half, cast, and finished up with the chasing tool; an Italian work of the close of the fifteenth century. Carneades was born at Cyrene about B.C. 213, and died B.C. 129, aged eighty-five. He founded the third, or new, academy at Athens.

Dr. Kendrick submitted an impressed oval plaque of horn, four inches by three, bearing a profile bust, to the right, of King Charles I, closely resembling, in every respect, the one on the tortoise-shell plaque in the possession of Lord Boston, described in this *Journal* (xvi, 354); but instead of the field being smooth, it is pounced or frosted all over, so that the subject appears bright on a dull background. A peculiar interest attaches to this example, from the fact

that beneath the bust, within a circle, is the Stanley badge, "the eagle and child," denoting that the box to which the plaque formed the lid belonged to a member of that illustrious house; and it is no stretch of probability to regard James, seventh Earl of Derby, as its original owner; who, it will be remembered, was beheaded at Bolton, Oct. 15, 1651, in direct violation of a promise of pardon. Dr. Kendrick purchased this royalist relic of a cottager in the outskirts of Warrington.

Mr. Cecil Brent produced a Roman flower-vase, and Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited one similar in character. It was suggested that these objects should be again produced, with other Roman flower-vases, making a good illustration of this class of Roman ornaments,—a suggestion with which several members promised compliance.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited two vessels of Roman pottery, with some remarkable glass beads, from Cologne; also some specimens of richly ornamented Samian ware, and other Roman pottery, found in the excavations recently made for Gooch & Cousens' wool warehouses in London Wall.

Mr. Josiah Cato exhibited a flattened sphere of green glass splashed with white enamel, similar to one engraved in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 1846, p. 354), and referred to the *Archæological Journal* (vol. iv, p. 60), and to the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association (1861, vol. xvii, pp. 59-62) for further information on the subject. It was obtained in Yorkshire, but the exact locality not known, and was probably an amulet. The shape of the object closely resembled that of the seed of the mallow.

Mr. Blashill exhibited a costrel, or pilgrim's bottle, of the fifteenth century, said to have been found in the cutting for the Holborn Valley viaduct.

The Rev. J. M. Bellew exhibited a clever forgery in metal, a boat-shaped reliquary, the top covered with a lid hinged on one side. This forgery was remarkable from the fact that it was obtained at the moment of its pretended discovery in an excavation in the eastern part of London.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., and Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., had no doubt whatever of the imposition having been practised by the excavators.

Professor Donaldson called attention to the very considerable skill and knowledge evinced in the manufacture of this reliquary; so considerable as to be well calculated to impose upon those not familiarly versed with the subject, and requested that some special mark of the imposture should be pointed out.

Mr. E. Roberts said the date upon it, of the eleventh century, in Arabic numerals of a form not used till six hundred years later, was a palpable mark of deception.

Mr. T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., Mr. J. W. Bailey, and Mr. J. R. Planché, V.P., concurred in the judgment pronounced by Mr. Roberts.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a slag-like piece of stone from the vitrified fort of Dun-Phinu, or Castle of Fingal, in the Isle of Arran, Buteshire, of which mention is made in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Institute, Dec. 3, 1852. Among the examples of the materials of vitrified forts, in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries, Edinburgh, is a piece of stone from Dun-na-goil in Bute.

Mr. H. Syer Cuning produced a piece of stone of a deep gray colour, scarcely distinguishable from Vesuvian lava, which was obtained, as far back as last century, from the vitrified fort of Craig Phetri or Phadrig, near Inverness, of which an account is given in this *Journal* (ii, 276).

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, said that one of the pieces was a fragment of basalt in its natural state, being evidently, from its perforated appearance, the upper or external part of a mass of basaltic rock or lava. The other piece was a fragment of scoria or slag, artificially formed, it might be, by the accidental vitrification of some substance on the spot where it was found; but more probably, he thought, it had been brought from some kiln or furnace. Mr. Hills added that, although seventy years ago antiquaries were led to believe in the existence of forts in Scotland, whose walls were cemented by vitrification, he did not suppose such a belief would be accepted now.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., said that he had visited several of the so-called vitrified forts in Scotland, but could not discover the slightest trace of vitrification about them.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson referred to the subject of the famous forger of antiquities, "Flint Jack," whose biography was brought to his notice at the last meeting. In this biography a visit of this man to Cambridge, in 1846, is mentioned, where he drove a "roaring trade" in his spurious discoveries. Mr. Simpson laid before the meeting two celts of the forger's make, which he purchased from one who was a customer of "Flint Jack's" on this occasion. They are admirably made; but the material, granite, was itself suspicious, and placed alongside of real antiquities could only deceive the inexperienced.

Mr. C. A. Elliott produced a quantity of bones found on removing the foundation of one of the piers of old Blackfriars' Bridge during the past autumn. The pier in question was between the second and third arches from the Middlesex shore. Amongst the bones produced the most conspicuous object was the skull of a horse. There were, besides horses' bones, those of the ox, and other animals, and human bones. Mr. Elliott obtained a large basketful; but the quantity was many times greater than what he produced. The exact position of the bones, when discovered, was indicated on a drawing furnished by

the kindness of Mr. F. W. Bryant, one of the superintending engineers.

Mr. H. S. Cuming observed marks of cutting upon one of the bones, which to his mind indicated great antiquity.

Mr. Thomas Blashill laid before the meeting some admirable photographs of the screen at the Priory Church of Christchurch, Hants, which the exertions of Lord Malmesbury, backed by the expressed opinions of the British Archaeological and other kindred Associations rescued from destruction about a year ago. Mr. Blashill submitted the following particulars concerning Christchurch Priory Church :

“As I had the honour to bring before the notice of this Association, early in last year, the threatened destruction of the beautiful fifteenth century stone screens of this church, which were restored under the able supervision of Mr. Ferrey a few years ago, I have now thought it would not be unwelcome to produce some very beautiful and interesting photographs, not only of the screens in question, but of several other monuments belonging to this famous church.

“I would draw particular attention to the chapel or chantry erected by the unfortunate Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, who, at the age of seventy years (27th May, 1541), was brought to the block by Henry VIII; the beautiful remains of which, less disturbed by time than by ruthless hands, now exist in great beauty in the eastern end of the church. Britton attributes the defacing of the escutcheons to the order of Henry VIII. No interment has taken place in the chantry. The Countess was interred in St. Peter's Church in the Tower.

“Though not an archaeological subject, I have ventured to exhibit a photograph of the monument raised to the memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley, the poet, by Mary Wolstoncroft, his wife, and executed by Weeks, the sculptor; and a photograph of the Malmesbury family chapel, with a celebrated monument by Flaxman.

“This church exceeds in length some of our English cathedrals, and is but a few feet less than Hereford Cathedral or King's College Chapel, Cambridge. It was a priory church of Austin canons, founded 1150. The nave is the work of Flambard, afterwards bishop of Durham, who left a noble monument in his share of the work at Durham Cathedral. The nave is 118 feet by 58 feet. The transept is 101 ft. by 24 ft., and has two eastern chantries in place of aisles. In each wing, on the south, is the original Norman apsidal chapel. The screen to which I have called attention, is at the entrance to the choir. The choir is 70 ft. by 21 ft., of Perpendicular design, and is separated from the aisles by solid empanelled walls. The Lady Chapel is of the same date, and is 36 ft. by 21 ft. Above it is the St. Michael's loft, the ancient Chapter House. There are thirty-six stalls in the choir, of the

latter part of the fifteenth century, bordering on the *cinque cento*. The north aisle of the nave is one century later than the one on the south. The reredos is very fine, and represents a Jesse tree. Besides the chantry of the Countess of Salisbury in the north aisle, already mentioned, there is one more (name unknown) in that aisle; and in the south aisle the chantry of John Draper, the last prior; with also a second chantry."

FEBRUARY 13.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

Rev. Wm. Roscoe Burgess, Latchford near Warrington
Miss Barrow, 4, Kilburn-terrace, Kilburn.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, called attention to the success of the efforts which had been made for the preservation of the ancient gate of five arches in the walls of Tenby. Mr. Hills said that information having reached the Council, that it was in contemplation to remove at once this gate, a resolution of the Town Council of Tenby having passed to that effect, our Vice-President, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and himself had both been in communication with the authorities at Tenby. A public meeting was held at Tenby on the 29th of January, from the report of which in the newspapers, it appeared that Dr. Dyster, the Mayor of Tenby, and a very powerful section of the inhabitants were resolutely opposed to the destruction; and the Mayor read to the meeting the protest raised by this Association on behalf of their preservation. The proceedings of this day led the Town Council to a reconsideration of their steps, and at a meeting of the Town Council held on the 7th of February, the Mayor read a letter from C. H. Wells, Esq., as solicitor to certain freeholders, protesting against the removal of the tower, and the following letters from the Commissioners of Woods, etc. :

"Office of Woods, etc., 28th Jan. 1867.

"SIR,—I understand that it is in contemplation to remove the gateway in the ancient town walls of Tenby, called 'The Five Arches', and that the removal will be by the direction, or with the authority, of the Corporation.

"I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to inform me whether I am correctly informed; and if so, I have to request that you will favour me with the name and address of the person who proposes to remove the gateway forming a portion of the ancient walls of the town.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES K. HOWARD.

"The Mayor of Tenby."

"Office of Woods, etc., 1st Feb. 1867.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 29th and 30th ult., in reply to mine of the 28th ult., relative to the contemplated removal of a gateway of five arches in the town wall of Tenby, co. Pembroke. The gateway in question is, I am given to understand, an interesting object as a relic of antiquity; and irrespective of the question as to whether or not the town walls belong to the Crown, I think that it will be a very questionable proceeding on the part of the Town Council if they sanction its removal. I trust, therefore, that the Town Council will reconsider the matter.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES K. HOWARD.

"The Mayor of Tenby."

Also the undermentioned from some of the principal archaeological societies of Great Britain :

"THE WORSHIPFUL F. D. DYSTER, ESQ.

"Brynfield House, Gower, Swansea, Jan. 28, 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have only just received a letter from the Secretary and Treasurer of the Archæological Association (Mr. Gordon Hills), requesting me to attend the meeting, which he informs me you have called this day, with the view of preventing the destruction of the five-arched gateway at Tenby. I should have been glad if I could have attended as a Vice-President of that Association, to express the regrets of the Society that such a project had been entertained, and the hope that the Corporation will abstain from destroying a monument which claims general interest, and is of a kind which at the present day claims respect—as too few of them now remain in the country—and it is no longer the custom recklessly to pull down buildings of so interesting a character. Other similar representations will be made to the Corporation in a few days by other Societies, and they will perceive that the interest taken in the matter is not confined to private individuals.

"I remain, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"GARDNER WILKINSON.

"F. Dyster, Esq., M.D., Mayor of Tenby, etc."

"Society of Antiquaries of London, Somerset House, Feb. 2, 1867.

"TO THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF TENBY.

"GENTLEMEN,—At a meeting of this Society, held here on January 31st, the President, the Right Honourable the Earl of Stanhope in the chair, attention was called to the contemplated destruction of the five-arched gateway, which now forms such an interesting feature in the

walls of Tenby. I was, thereupon, instructed to send you the following resolution, which received the unanimous assent of the meeting, and which I hope will receive, at your hands, favourable consideration. The resolution is as follows:—

“That this Society hears with regret that it is proposed to destroy the curious five-arched gateway in the walls of Tenby, a monument peculiarly interesting as one of the few comparatively perfect fragments of mediæval civil architecture remaining in this country. The Secretary is requested to send a copy of this resolution to the proper authorities at Tenby, with an expression of the hope entertained by the Society, that as they learn that no absolute necessity exists for the removal of the gateway, they trust that this relic of the olden time may be spared to future ages.”

“I have the honour to remain, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,

“Your obedient Servant,

“C. KNIGHT WATSON, *Secretary.*”

It appears that the object proposed by the destroyers was to gain access to an estate laid out for building, the value of which might possibly have been advanced to the benefit of two or three individuals, and on this chance the destruction of the western walls of the town was to commence with the pulling down of the fine south-western gate of five arches. Thanks to the well-timed movement of the inhabitants and the energetic appeal of this Association united with others, the impending loss has been averted, and we have to congratulate the Mayor on receiving from him an assurance that the Town Council has rescinded its former resolution.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., read the following portion of a letter he had received from Mr. J. T. Irvine: “I have just got the December number (1866) of the *Journal*, containing a plate of ‘lead seals’ found in the Isle of Wight. I see it is mentioned that your opinion was that they were only of the date of the seventeenth century, and I believe I can give you corroborative evidence. Some, perhaps ten or fifteen, years, it may be, ago, a ruined chantry chapel on the north side of Dartford church, Kent, was restored. I happened to see it just before the works were finished, and obtained from the dirt and earth lying on the stone seat on the south side several leaden pieces of a very similar sort to those in the *Journal*, which were the worst of a much larger quantity that had been found in the earth and stuff accumulated on the floor. I gave the lot afterwards, with some other things, to the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries of Edinburgh, where I have no doubt they are to be found at present.”

Mr. Cuming said that he considered the plate of objects referred to by Mr. Irvine as an important contribution to archaeological science:

for it would, no doubt, create an interest in a class of relics which have hitherto been too much neglected and despised. He had, however, nothing to retract from the opinions he formerly expressed, and which are recorded in this *Journal* (xxi, 229); and so long as devices, letters, and dates, were to be accepted as proofs of period, so long must we number the leaden articles from Gurnard Bay among productions of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. They are all (save No. 13) unquestionably children's "dumps", the letters on them being the initials of the several makers. On other examples Mr. Cuming had noticed the following initials: A, B, B.C., B.L., C.A., C.C., C.S., D.G., F.C., G.D., H.A., H.L., I.B., I.C., I.K., IN, I.S.K., I.T. (1711), I.W., J.H., J.S., M.H., M.L., M.N., O.B., R., R.F., R.L., R.S., S.I., S.K., S.P. (1633), S.R., T., T.C., T.D., T.M., T.P., T.W. (1750), W.F., W.H.

The devices on the old "dumps" were very various, as may be judged from those found in the Isle of Wight. It is impossible to enumerate all the subjects that have appeared on such toys through the centuries in which they have been in vogue; but the following have passed under Mr. Cuming's observation,—anchors with and without cables, bells, bottles, cheese-cutters, corks, coffee-pots, crosses (some with pellets, others with stars between the limbs), decanters and glasses, draughtboards, figures of men and animals, fleurs-de-lys, grid-irons, hearts (some pierced by arrows), heads (full-faced and in profile, one type being a reverend divine gazing at his visage in a mirror), hoops and crosses, moons (full and crescent), palm-trees, roses, shields, ships, stars, suns, swans, etc.

Some of the earliest "dumps" are probably those displaying crosses and pellets, suggested, seemingly, by the reverses of the silver money of olden time. Those with the effigy of a cock were designed to throw at the leaden "Biddy",—a custom to which allusion has already been made in this *Journal* (xx, 342). The general purpose of "dumps" was, however, for the game of "pitch in the hole", the laws of which differed little, if anything, from "cherry-pit" and "chuck farthing"; and having their origin, it is believed, in the Roman pastime of *noces*.

Mr. Cuming closed his remarks by the exhibition of one half of a mould for casting "dumps", a block of fire-stone about three inches square and an inch and a quarter thick; the smooth surface incised with a die an inch and a half in diameter, bearing the device of an anchor with the cable twisted loosely round the stem, which divides the letters I.O. A short channel from this die communicates with another, an inch in diameter, bearing a heart transfixated laterally by an arrow. This curious object is the work of the seventeenth century, and was some years since recovered from the Thames, near the site of old London Bridge. It was once in the Newman collection, sold July 19, 1848.



Mr. Gunston and Mr. Cato, in concurring with the views expressed by Mr. Irvine and Mr. Cuming in respect to the age and purpose of the leaden pieces from Gurnard Bay, justified their opinions by the exhibition of a large number of "dumps" found in London, and several of which bear dates. The dated examples in Mr. Gunston's possession may be described as follows: *obv.*, five pellets; *rev.*, 1519 (?);—*obv.*, W.M.; *rev.*, 1634;—*obv.*, anchor; *rev.*, R.B., 1693;—*obv.*, a heart placed on the centre of a foliaceous cross; *rev.*, I.H., 1705;—*obv.*, profile bust to the right; *rev.*, R.X., 1708;—*obv.*, M.D., 1714; *rev.*, blank;—*obv.*, sun in its splendour; *rev.*, I.H., 1721;—*obv.*, P.F.; *rev.*, fleur-de-lys, 1729;—*obv.*, star of six rays; *rev.*, R.G., 1741;—*obv.*, cross, etc., resembling the type given in plate 22, fig. 20, of the Gurnard Bay pieces; *rev.*, W.S., 1758;—*obv.*, anchor; *rev.*, P.W., 1781 (?);—*obv.*, similar to fig. 20, plate 22; *rev.*, T.S., 1795. Among the undated "dumps" produced by Mr. Gunston there is one with the palm-tree, like fig. 27; another with the curved strokes, of the type fig. 18; two with the decanter and glass, of type fig. 25; and one which is an evident attempt at an imitation of a farthing,—*obv.*, a profile bust to the right; *rev.*, seated figure of Britannia.

Mr. Cato's "dumps" furnished examples similar to figs. 3 and 20 of the Gurnard Bay "find", as well as others displaying stars of four and five rays, a cross and pellets, a fleur-de-lys; one with *obv.* an anchor, *rev.* T.P.; and a most important specimen with initials and date, S.P., 1633. With the foregoing, Mr. Cato placed a small square of lead bearing within a circle an animal very like the creature on fig. 13 of plate 22, and which cannot be assigned to an earlier period than the "dumps" with which it was discovered.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a large and valuable collection of Celtic antiquities in bronze found in London on the sites of the Stilyard, Queenhithe, Smithfield, and Lothbury, comprising pins, torques, and cutting instruments; an instrument of bronze in original handle (as supposed), for trimming lamps. Also an armlet of pale blue glass, with raised white druidical figures, corresponding with similar figures found in Celtic remains in Ireland. Also, from Queenhithe, the horn of an ox or bullock, ornamented with worked bronze plates, the horn being similar to that still venerated by the western peasants of Ireland as a religious relic, and believed to be connected with the ancient worship of Baal. Also an exceedingly fine bronze, found, 1866, in Moorfields, of the young Hercules strangling the hydra. This beautiful work of art was stated by the Vice-President, Mr. Cuming, to have been the work of John of Bologna. It is about eleven inches high, full of vigorous expression, and exhibits a wonderful and correct anatomical knowledge. Mr. Mayhew also exhibited many other interesting antiquies from London, and promised a paper on Baal worship.

The Rev. J. G. Cumming addressed the following note to Mr. H. Syer Cumming in relation to the supposed effects of the *evil eye* on cattle in the Isle of Man: "Your paper on charms, printed in the last volume of your *Journal*, has much reminded me of the Manx superstitions respecting cattle and 'eye-biting.' Whenever a person wishes to purchase an animal, but will not give the price demanded, the owner of the beast lifts the earth or dust from the footprint of the person trying to make the bargain, and rubs the creature all over with it to prevent the ill effects of 'overlooking.' I do not know of any stone actually kept for the purpose of curing diseased cattle, but the Manx resort to the holy well of St. Maughold on the first Sunday in August, and carry away bottles of the water to be used during the year as a curative to their afflicted beasts. The Manx also profess to know the extent of the disease by which an animal is suffering by the action of the knife on the part cut for the cure; and if a beast dies from the supposed effects of the *evil eye* the carcass is publicly *burnt* at four cross ways, and the first person who passes that way after the fire is kindled is fixed upon as the author of the disease."

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson called attention to the *needfires* of Germany, and explained their use in the seventeenth century by referring to Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1865, p. 226), where the subjoined account is given from Reiske: "When a murrain has broken out among the great and small cattle, and the herds have suffered much harm, the farmers determined to make a *needfire*. On an appointed day there must be no single flame of fire in any house or on any hearth. From each house straw and water and brush-wood must be fetched, and a stout oak post driven fast into the ground and a hole bored through it; in this a wooden windlass is stuck, well covered with cart-pitch and tar, and turned round so long that, with the fierce heat and force, it gives forth fire. This is caught in proper materials, increased with straw, heath, and brushwood, till it breaks out into a full *needfire*; and this must be somewhat spread out lengthways between walls or fences, and the cattle and horses hunted with sticks and whips two or three times through it." This driving the cattle through the *needfires* of Germany brings to memory a like practice with respect to the ancient *beal fires* of the Britannic islands.

Professor J. Y. Simpson, M.D., in his *Notes on some Scottish Magical Charm-stones* (printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*), states he knows "of two localities in the Lowlands, one near Biggar, in Lanarkshire, the other near Torphichen, in West Lothian, where, within the memory of the present and past generation, living cows have been sacrificed for curative purposes, or under the hope of arresting the progress of the murrain in other members of the flock. In both these instances the cow was sacrificed by being buried alive

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a series of nine Roman drinking cups from Cologne, belonging to himself, to Mr. Cato, and to Mr. J. W. Bailey, each bearing an inscription, viz.,—Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, BIBE, VIVAS, FELIX, SITIO, VITA. Josiah Cato, Esq., LAVIT, PIE QVIRI; a fragment found in London, March 1866, in excavating for the railway station in Cannon-street, seems to bear the letters qvi. J. W. Bailey, Esq., PIE, AMO TE.

In Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, plate 4, four examples of similar drinking-cups are figured, found amongst some pottery at Etaples, Pas de Calais, and preserved in the Museum at Boulogne. These are inscribed AVE, VIVAS, BIBE, IMPLE. The letters and an ornamental pattern are in white upon the dark ground of the cups. Other examples are engraved in *Ten Thousand Wonderful Things*, second series, p. 40; and in Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*, etc., vol. iii, p. 462; fol.; Coloniae Marchicae, 1696-1701. It is interesting to compare these inscriptions with inscribed mediæval drinking-cups referred to in the *Journal* for 1866, p. 403-4. "Drynk and fyll xyt," corresponding to IMPLE; "Drynke deepe", to BIBE; "Be mery and welcome."

The Rev. W. S. Simpson gave the following particulars of potters' marks on Samian pottery discovered in London during the years 1865, 1866, not in Mr. Roach Smith's *Roman London*:

ADHIO	CRESTI.OF	MARTIVS.F	PVLCAT.V.F
AELIANVS.F.	DOMITVS.F	MASCVLVS	QVINTI.M
OF.ALBI	DONNAVCI	MERCATO	SABINI.OF
ALVI (P)	PELICIS.O	MERO	SCOINVS
OF.APRI	FLORENTINVS.F	OOF	SCOTINVS
AVERVCI	GEMINVS	OPIMIOR	SECVNDA
BELLINICI.W.	IANVE	O.PASANI	SEMVVRA
CATV...NVS	INDIIS.O	PEREERIL	OF.SEVE
[C]ASSIVS.OF.	INGENVI	PESIMI	O.SEVERI
CINTVCNA..	IVSTINI	OF.PRIM	SOSIO.O
CIVIRIL	LECITVVR.O	PRIMI.M	TALLS.M.S.F
CLAVDO (P)	MANEDV	PVDE..	OF.VITAI
COSI.VI.IN			

The following names, also found in London within the same period, have been collected by Josiah Cato, Esq.:

APINVS.F	OF.CRESTIO	OF.LVCVN	OF.RVFI
BELINICI.W	FELIXSEV	OF.NGI	OF.SAB[I P]
BY—SIC	FIRMO	O.PASEI	OF.SILVI
CAPITV.F	FLOE	OF.PATRI	SOLIIMNI, or
CASTI	IVNII	PAVLVS	SOLEMNI ²
OF.COELI	OF.IVCVNDI	PRM.M (probably	TAVRICI.M
OF.CRESTI	LOLLI.M ¹	PRIMI.M)	

¹ Mr. Roach Smith prints this mark from the Museum at Douai.

² M. Cato has also found this name in Kent.

Mr. Josiah Cato exhibited a model of a leaden coffin. The original full sized coffin was said to have been found, last autumn, on the north side of Shoreditch Church; but though Mr. Cato saw the hole from which it was alleged to have been raised, he felt much doubt as to the reality of the discovery. It bore some characteristics of the thirteenth century, but these were open to question as to their genuineness. He believed the coffin was still exhibiting at the north-east of London.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson believed the coffin had really been brought from Westminster.

Mr. Wimble exhibited some further fragments of Roman pottery from Southwark-street, and a piece of metal from Moorgate-street, which Mr. Cuming described as an iron Roman hinge. A piece of bone which Mr. Wimble produced, was shewn by Mr. Cuming to bear a close resemblance to the bone axes of the American Indians.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited a *mortarium* of terra-cotta, spouted; and a part of an *olla* ornamented with human faces, and with a quilled ornament round the top. Both Roman.

A paper on the cross-tau of St. Anthony, by Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., was adjourned to the next meeting.

FEBRUARY 27.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of H. Kettle, Esq., of 6, Champion Place, Camberwell, was announced.

Thanks were returned to the Royal Norske University of Christiana for *Mindelemner af Middelalderens Kunst i Norge* (long 4to., 1855). Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., drew attention to the value of the book. It contains geometrical drawings of several early Norwegian churches, both of timber and stone, with elaborate carvings, bearing a great resemblance to the sculptures of Irish work before the Anglo-Norman invasion. The Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A., compared the sculpture on these illustrations with that of the Isle of Man, attributing the latter to the ninth century, whilst the Norwegian work is of the twelfth. The current impression is, that the Isle of Man artists had their inspiration from Ireland, but corresponding work in Orkney he thought must have been derived from Scandinavia.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited the known portrait of Shakespere by Zincke, denounced in pp. 22 and 23 of Wivell's Supplement to *An Inquiry into the History of Shakespere's Portraits*. He observed that probably few persons of the present day had seen this copy, or forgery, and he exhibited it for the information of the Associates, and not as an antiquity.

Mr. J. W. Bailey called attention to a large tusk discovered at a great depth at London Wall, December, 11th, 1866, which appears to have belonged to a gigantic seal, allied to, if not identical with, the sea elephant (*Eystophora proboscidea* of Nilssen, *macrorhinus proboscideus* of Cuvier), a creature which sometimes attained a length of thirty feet. The navy who exhumed this tooth regarded it as a spear-head, the pulp-cavity suggesting the idea of the socket. The finding at great depths in London of remains of creatures now rare or foreign to British shores, is a circumstance which ought not to be lost sight of by the archaeologist, as it shows either the former presence of the living animal in the neighbourhood, or else an extent of commerce in ancient times of which we should little expect to hear.

Mr. J. T. Irvine transmitted some masterly sketches of Roman remains discovered at Cirencester (the *Corinium* of Ptolemy, and *Duro-Cornovium* of Antonine), and preserved in the local museum. The following are the more remarkable objects :

1. Fragment of the cornice of a temple, sculptured with leaves, etc., in the bold style, quite equal, if not superior, in execution to the capital at Chester, given in this *Journal*, xxii, 384.

2. Twelve fragments of flue and roofing tiles, exhibiting potters' marks impressed in the clay before firing, as follows, ARVERI, IHS, TCM, TPFA, TPFC, TPF, TPLF.

3. Handle of a vessel stamped with the name IRPHEON.

4. Portion of the side of a leaden coffin (which, when entire, must have been eighteen inches deep), decorated with a singular design, consisting of two staves resembling batons, crossed thus \times , with a full-faced bust above, and a sort of festoon below them, and on either side a broad ring, the whole group bordered above and below with a cable-pattern.

5. Body and foot of a somewhat skittle-shaped vessel of terra-cotta covered with a sort of greenish glaze, and having on one side a nude standing figure in relief. This curious vase is esteemed to be of Roman origin, and it cannot be denied that London has produced a few examples of Roman pottery with traces of glaze, as may be seen by turning to vol. xxii, p. 304 of this *Journal*.

Mr. Cuning, Mr. Roberts, and the Rev. H. S. Simpson thought it possible that in the inscription IHS , produced by Mr. Irvine, as the letters are near a fracture, the I might be an accidental appearance. It was hoped that the specimens might be sent for exhibition, as it would be desirable to ascertain if the letters were impressed or incised.

Mr. Wimble laid before the meeting a number of articles exhumed about a fortnight since opposite No. 2, Walbrook. At a depth of twenty feet below the pavement, and in the black soil which appears

to be the bed of the old water-course, were discovered two of the bones exhibited, one being a human *radius* of the right arm, nine inches and three-quarters in length, the other a left *radius* of the red deer (*ceruus elephas*), twelve inches and three-quarters long. Among the pottery may be specified a portion of an *olla*, of Upchurch ware, and a variety of examples of both plain and embossed Samian ware, the subjects including elegant scroll patterns, gladiatorial contests, and combats of animals, pieces with the figure of a boar and a lioness, or panther, being particularly interesting. Another object from this locality exhibited by Mr. Wimble, is a one-handed jug, four inches and three-quarters high, holding about three-quarters of a pint, made of a dull deep-brown earth, the upper portion covered with a rough glaze of an indistinct greenish hue. This jug cannot be assigned to a later date than the sixteenth century.

To Mr. Wimble's frequent exhibition of Britannie and Roman relics from Southwark Street he now added a portion of a colourless glass rod, two inches and three-quarters in length, which may possibly be a portion of the handle of a ladle.

The Rev. W. L. Bell exhibited a bronze seal with the legend, "S. PETRI TEDER HEC HUONIC CRETENSIS." The matrix is a forgery, but has misled many archæologists. Some of these matrices are unquestionably copies of genuine seals. Mr. Cuming said that the one now exhibited is of Italian work, and similar to one described in this *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 393, the seal of Peter Tederade, Canon of Chalk. A valuable account of forged seals, bearing on this subject, by Mr. Cuming, will be found in vol. xiv, p. 348.

Mr. J. Murton, of Silverdale, transmitted the following articles from his collection:—1, vessel about two inches and a half high, of pale, yellowish coloured earth, covered with a mottled green glaze such as is seen on pottery of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This would generally be designated a "toy jug"; but Mr. H. Syer Cuming suggested its possible employment, in mediæval times, as an unguent-pot, pointing out the resemblance which it bore in contour to one of the single-handled Greek vessels for holding the eye-medicine called *lykion*, or *Indian lycium*, which illustrates a paper, by Dr. J. Y. Simpson, printed in the *Monthly Journal of Medical Science* (Jan. 1853, p. 24); and also to what is believed to be a Greek apothecary's *unguentarium*, two inches and five-eighths high, of dull red terra-cotta, which he produced, and which was formerly in the museum of the late Rev. Dr. J. Goodall, Provost of Eton College. Mr. Murton's specimen was found in 1844, at Long Compton, Warwickshire, under the foundation of an ancient building formerly standing in Court Close.

2. Sixteen out of a considerable number of large glass beads found some years since at Harrietslam, Kent, by workmen whilst repairing

an old fence by the side of a road bearing the local name of the Shire-road, and which is supposed to be the ancient Roman way. These fine and curious beads are of Murano manufacture, and have every appearance of being of considerable age; a fact quite consistent with their place of fabric, for though the republic of Venice did not produce glass *vessels* of much account until the fifteenth century, it had long carried on an extensive trade in *beads*. Ten of the beads produced are octahedrons, six of them being colourless, and four imitation amber. The remaining beads are what are denominated "pigeons' eggs", of an opal hue. Mr. Cuming placed by the side of these specimens a string of fine old "pigeons' eggs", which are reputed to have been made for the Levant market, and which were once in the valuable collection of the late Thomas Everill of Mount-row, Lambeth.

3. Decade or rosary ring of silver, similar in construction to examples described in this *Journal* (xiv, 277). On a projecting oval plate or collet serving as a *gaude* for the *pater noster*, is engraved a cross, I.H.S., and the three holy nails. Date, seventeenth century.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a rosary ring of silver, of rather later date than Mr. Murton's specimen, and having on its front a band bearing a cross, heart, and anchor, the emblems of faith, hope, and charity. It was found in the Thames.

Mr. J. W. Grover referred to some glass beads in the museum of Caerleon, and one illustrated by Mr. Lee in his catalogue.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson produced a cylindrical bead in further illustration of the subject.

Mr. Cato exhibited a very beautiful and perfect Roman glass bottle having a globular shaped body indented on four sides, and a long, narrow neck, found in Dover-street in December last. Mr. Cuming stated that it is of a very rare type. It will be figured.

Mr. Gunston exhibited some of the most recent bone forgeries.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited the horn of an elk found on the peat, twenty feet below the bed of the Thames, between Hungerford and Waterloo.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., then read a paper on the "cross-tau" of St. Anthony, which will be given in the next *Journal*.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Cato exhibited a black-letter copy of the "attributes of St. Anthony," which gives cuts of the *tau* as well as the other attributes.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson referred to the mysterious monuments of Sinai which have the *tau* cut upon them.

Mr. Roberts considered it was essentially the emblem of a trinity in its religious application, and used by the Israelites as such in a similar sense to the Δ , and indicated the tri-union of almighty powers. Several other members agreed in this view.

Amb Lock from Harlestown

Fig 1



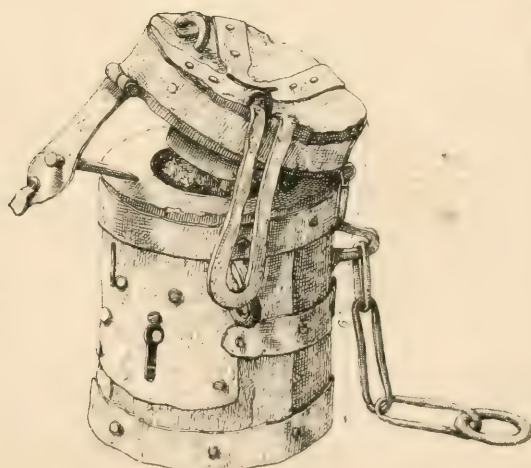
Fig 3



Fig 4

Amb Lock from
New York

Fig 2







ANCIENT HORSE SHOES



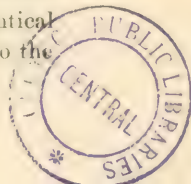
Illustrations are now given, as promised, of the remarkable alms-boxes from Neen Sollers in Shropshire, and from Harbledown near Canterbury. (See vol. xxii, pp. 448-51.) Of the alms-box from Harbledown the following account is given by the Rev. W. S. Simpson :

"During the spring of 1866 my friend Mr. Cato and I paid a visit to Canterbury, for the special purpose of examining once again such relics of antiquity there preserved as are connected with the interesting and important subject of the pilgrimages to the shrine of Thomas à Becket. We walked out about a mile from the western gate of the city to the Lazar House at Harbledown. Ogygius, in the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, thus describes the spot :

"*Ogygius*.—Know, then, that those who journey to London, not long after leaving Canterbury find themselves in a road at once very hollow and narrow ; and, besides, the banks on either side are so steep and abrupt, that you cannot escape ; nor can you possibly make your journey in any other direction. On the left hand of this road is a hospital of a few old men, one of whom runs out as soon as they perceive any horseman approaching. He sprinkles his holy water, and presently offers the upper part of a shoe, bound with a brazen rim, in which is a piece of glass resembling a jewel. Those that kiss it give some small coin.....He said it was the shoe of S. Thomas.....This fragment of his shoe supports this little community of poor men.'

"I am quoting from the excellent *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury*, by J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. The portion of the shoe of the archbishop no longer remains ; but the crystal is preserved in a silver-gilt setting, in the bottom of a mazer-bowl, and forms, to my mind, the most valuable relic in the possession of the poor brethren of S. Nicholas's Hospital. For the sake of that minute accuracy which is so agreeable to the antiquarian, I may say that the mazer-bowl is five inches and five-eighths in diameter, and two inches and a half in height ; and that the crystal measures one inch and a quarter in length by seven-eighths of an inch in width. I should add that this is not the mazer referred to by Mr. H. Syer Cuming in his paper in our *Journal* (xi, p. 353), the Hospital being fortunate enough still to retain several maple-bowls.

"Besides this curious relic, the custodian at the Hospital shews the visitor a rude alms-box banded with iron, and having an iron chain attached. Dean Stanley (*Historical Memorials of Canterbury*) expresses his opinion that in this box 'we can hardly doubt the coin of Erasmus was deposited.' We saw no reason to doubt the learned Dean's conclusion ; and I must say that we held the box in our hands with very great interest, remembering its association with two such illustrious scholars as Erasmus and his companion Colet. It is almost identical in form and appearance with that from Neen Sollers, exhibited to the



associates at our meeting, 28 November last. The visit of Erasmus to Canterbury seems to have been paid between the years 1511 and 1513."

For the drawing of this alms-box from Harbledown (fig. 1, plate 3) we are indebted to Mr. Josiah Cato. Mr. Cato thus describes it: "The Harbledown alms-box consists of a cylinder of oak, four inches in diameter, and about the same length, hollowed to form the receptacle, and bound round the upper end with a hoop of iron about half an inch broad. The upper edge of the box is bevelled inwards more than is shewn by the sketch. Two bands of iron form a cross upon the bottom of the box, and have their ends bent up and nailed to the sides. One of these crossed bands carries a small staple, from which hangs a chain composed of one round and three long links. The band terminates in a hinge for the lid. The front of the box yet has the original plain lock let into and nailed to it; but the hasp and key are both, I believe, now lost. The lid is likewise of oak hooped with iron, and of a form most ingeniously contrived to prevent robbery. Externally it is slightly concave, and has a very narrow slit one inch and an eighth long; but internally it is highly convex (almost conical), so that it would be next to impossible for a coin which had once lain flat in the box to find its way back, especially as the slit is so narrow that it would admit no more than one of the thin pieces of the period. Probably the last quarter of the fifteenth century (1475-1500).

The alms-box exhibited by Mr. Lloyd from Neen Sollers church, in Shropshire, was formerly deposited in a chest in that church; the contents of the chest came to be regarded as rubbish and were removed, but the box has fortunately been preserved by a farmer in the parish. The box, as will be seen by the engraving (fig. 2, pl. iii) is very similar to that from Harbledown, but rather larger and more elaborate, or complicated, in its strapwork. When closed, the lid was fastened by a lock let into the front of the box, and by a padlock on each side (figs. 3, 4), one of the padlocks being of the form of a shield. A security against the possibility of withdrawing any part of its contents through the slit in the cover was gained by attaching a woven linen tube to the inside of the cover, through which the coins would readily fall inwards, but it would be next to impossible for them to escape outwards.

Mr. Cato suggested that such boxes were probably attached to the girdle of the leper, or brother, of the hospital or almshouse, who acted as porter, and were used to receive the alms granted to his solicitations.

Of the Roman antiquities in bronze from Chesterford, exhibited Dec. 12, 1866 (see vol. xxii, p. 451), by the Rev. Sparrow Simpson, plate 4 gives some illustrations:—Fig. 1, pendant circular, with eight

projecting ornaments, cross in centre; fig. 2, girdle clasp; fig. 3, fibula silvered; fig. 4, a penannular armlet ornamented on the external edge by small depressions; fig. 5, a torque; fig. 6, a small armlet resembling a twisted cord; fig. 7, a penannular brooch with pin.

At the meeting of Dec. 12th, 1866, were exhibited by Mr. J. W. Bailey some iron objects from Moorfields, London, of two of which an engraving (plate 5) is given. On the occasion of this exhibition Mr. Gordon M. Hills stated that he had seen in a French archaeological work, he believed by M. de Caumont, about two years ago, the drawing of a skeleton of a horse discovered with four of these on his feet. He has not, however, been able to find it again.

Mr. Roach Smith (see his *Coll. Antiq.*, iii, 128; *Roman London*, 145; and *Catal. Mus.*, p. 78), drew attention formerly to similar objects found at Stony Stratford, in London, at Springhead in Kent, and at Vieil Evreux; he had known them designated lampstands and horse-shoes, but was not satisfied with either explanation. He observed that they were usually discovered in connection with Roman remains, and that in Holland a longer horseshoe somewhat of this kind was still in use.

Mr. Cecil Brent directs attention to the following interesting account of the discovery of some of these articles at the Roman camp of Dalheim, in Luxembourg, from the eleventh year of the *Publications de la Société des Monuments, etc., de Luxembourg*, 1855. At p. 71, it appears that antiquarian diggings had been in progress at the camp since 1851, and in 1855 were still going on. In the list of iron objects found in 1855, occurs the following: "Parmi les objets en fer provenant des fouilles de Dalheim je citerai comme étant sans contredit le plus intéressant une nouvelle forme de hipposandale ou hipopodes pathologiques."

A year before some horseshoes *artistiques* had been found at the camp alongside of ordinary horseshoes, and these differed not greatly from those found in 1855, and figured 21, 24, plate iii, vol. xi, of the Luxembourg publications. One of them is almost identical with Mr. Bailey's example from Moorfields, fig. 2. Their resemblance is noticed to those anciently in use in Lycia and Circassia. So long ago as 1760 a discovery of them was noticed as made at Avenches, and an engraving was published. In the Abbé Cochet's *Seine Inférieure*, p. 338, we find that M. de Troyon had called the attention of the writer to the discovery of four of them upon the skeleton of a horse in the Roman ruins of Granges (Canton de Vaud) in Switzerland. This possibly may be the same thing which Mr. Hills has seen in print elsewhere. The Abbé Cochet gives five illustrations, one of them like Mr. Bailey's, fig. 1. Besides the places already referred to, such horseshoes have been seen, as the Luxembourg writer states, at Echternach in Luxembourg, at Metz

and Strasbourg, in the collections of the Imperial School at Altford near Paris, at Dijon, Autun, and Montbillard.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson points out that notices occur of similar horseshoes in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 95, vol. xi, p. 416, 417, and in the *Essex Archæological Journal*, vol. i.

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JUNE 1867.

ON THE CROSS TAU OF ST. ANTHONY.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE cross tau, *crux ansata*, key of the Nile, or emblem of life, as it is indifferently denominated, is frequently borne in the hands of Egyptian divinities, both male and female, by a large ring which surmounts the transverse member. This sacred symbol was also wrought in various substances, and worn as a necklace-pendant by the living subjects of the Pharaohs, and placed as an amulet on the breasts of their mummied corpses. The delicate *crux ansata* I exhibit is of green enamel, measuring only eleven-twelfths of an inch high, and is an excellent example of this kind of religious trinket. (See pl. 6, fig. 1.)

Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, 213), when speaking of Egyptian emblems, tells us that the *crux ansata* is found on the sculptures of Khorsabad, on the ivories from Nimroud, and on cylinders of the late Assyrian period. Meyrick (*Costume of the original Inhabitants of the British Islands*, p. 25) states, on the authority of Lucan, that the "tau" was a symbol of God among the Druids. Didron (*Christian Iconography*, Bohm's ed, i, 373) says, "the letter 'tau', the numerical value of which is 300, presented an immense field, in which the mystics of Alexandria laboured with unwearied diligence."¹ The "tau" is found on Gnostic

¹ See also the Rev. Dr. Jessop's paper, "On the symbolical Character of Alaph and Tau," in this *Journal*, vi, 68.

and Hebrew charms, and Joseph von Hammer points to it as the all-potent sign of the Knights Templars.¹

The "cross-tau" was, however, best known in mediæval times as the emblem of St. Anthony. Among Stothard's *Effigies* are those of Sir Roger de Bois and lady, each of whom bears on the right shoulder of the mantle a circular badge graven with a "tau," ensigned by the word ANTHON, Sir Roger belonging to this saint's fraternity. We learn from Grose (*Preface to the Antiquities of England and Wales*, 86) that "the order of St. Anthony of Vienna was instituted A.D. 1095, by one Gaston Frank. Their principal care was to serve those afflicted with the disorder called 'St. Anthony's fire,' from the relics of that saint being particularly efficacious in its cure. The friars of this order followed the rule of St. Augustine, and wore a black habit with the letter T, of a blue colour, on their breasts. They came hither early in the reign of King Henry III, and had one house at London, and another at Hereford." That in London was situated in the parish of St. Bennet Finke, Thread-needle-street.

Mr. Cecil Brent brings to our notice a "cross-tau" which, I make no doubt, was once worn by one of the fraternity of St. Anthony. It is of pewter, an inch and three-quarters high, with a round loop at top for suspension: and the field cavated, to receive an inlay of some kind, which, from what we have just read, may safely be presumed to have been of a blue colour. This "tau" was found at Brooks' Wharf, near Queenhithe, Upper Thames-street; and although there is nothing about it to absolutely fix its date, it is, in all probability, of early fabric. (See plate 6, fig. 2.)

St. Anthony had many votaries beyond those of his order, who loved to display his symbol about their persons; and the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson kindly produces a "tau" which may be taken as a proof that such was the case, as it is evidently not the badge of this saint's fraternity. (See fig. 3.) This cross was recovered from the Thames, near the Steel-yard, Upper Thames-street, Oct. 22, 1866, and is of consi-

¹ Von Hammer finds this symbol in many of the churches in Germany built by the Knights Templars. In England it occurs on the capitals in the White Tower, London; on the corbels of West Clandon Church, Surrey, and other places. Do the mysterious "tau"-headed staves of rock-crystal and ivory appertain to the Knights Templars? Two of ivory are described in the catalogue of the Loan Collection at South Kensington, 1862, pp. 9, 10.

derable interest. It is of pewter, one inch high, with pin at back to affix it as an ornamental *signum* in the hat or on the mantle, and has a loop at the base, to which a cord or light chain may have been attached as an additional security, in the same manner as we sometimes see a *catella* fastened to a Roman fibula, or perchance a relic may have depended from it. But the chief novelty in this "tau" is the effigy of the crucified Redeemer, who has a large annular *nimbus* enclosing not only the head, but a portion of the bosom; and, moreover, the divine person is represented *perfectly nude*. Didron (260, 276) states distinctly that he remembers but *two* instances in which the crucified Lord is so represented, both in MSS. in the Bibliothèque Royale,—one being the *Heures du Duc d'Anjou* (p. 162), of the end of the thirteenth century; the other the *Biblia Sacra* (No. 6829), of the close of the fourteenth century,—the period to which I venture to assign the little "tau" from the Thames. This rare bauble is, beyond question, a pilgrim's sign, cast at one of the holy places which boasted possession of some of the relics of St. Anthony, and to which many flocked for aid and protection in and from his so-called "fire".

According to the legend, the saint's body long remained in the earth, fresh as on the day his soul quitted it, and was at length brought to Europe by one Joceline, who deposited it in France. Hone (*Every Day Book*, i, 116) says that when Bishop Patrick wrote, "the saint's head was shewn at Cologne, with a part of his hand, and another piece of him was shewn at Tournay; two of his relics were at Antwerp; a church dedicated to him at Rome, was famous for his sackcloth and part of his palm coat; the other part of it was exhibited at Vienna; and the rest of his body was so multiplied about, that there were limb-bones enough for the remains of half a dozen uncanonised persons." It is far from certain to which place the *signum* under consideration belonged, but I feel more inclined to attribute its workmanship and design to France than to any other country.

As St. Anthony was invoked for the cure of erysipelas, his cross became regarded as an amulet against the malady; hence we occasionally find it delineated on trinkets, etc.

In the *Archæologia* (xxx) is a print of the ring of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford (1504-16), found in his coffin in Hereford Cathedral, on the hoop of which, on each side the

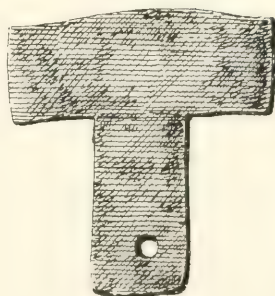
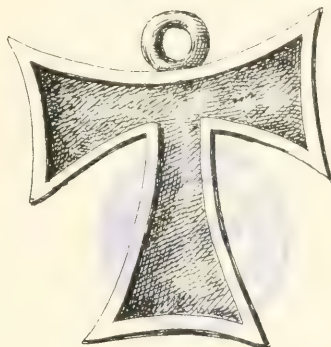
setting, is sculpted the bell and "tau" of St. Anthony. This may either be a charm-ring, or relate to the Hospital of St. Anthony at Hereford.

Having pointed out the adoption of the *cruz ansata* by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Jews, Druids, Gnostics, and Knights Templars, and shewn how popular it became in Europe, in the middle ages, as the emblem of St. Anthony, it may be well to call attention to the fact that it is not quite abandoned in Ireland in the nineteenth century; for I now place before you a "tau" which was obtained, in 1846, from a Kanture peasant, who could or would, however, give no further account of it than that it was a very favourite form among "*certain people*" in county Cork, but that "*it ought to be kept quiet.*" It is of the rudest fabric, being cut out of the flat part of the scapula of a sheep, stained black, and has a perforation through the base of the upright limb,—the equivalent of the loop attached to the little specimen from the Thames. Its height is an inch and a half. (See fig. 4.)

We cannot contemplate the *cruz ansata* of the Egyptians, and the "tau" of St. Anthony, without the thought bursting on us, have these two symbols any connexion beyond form? and if they have, why was the "key of the Nile" chosen as the attribute of the great patron of monks and hermits? Now I dare to think that the saintly emblem and sacred *cruz* are one and the same, and that its association with Anthony was to mark that he was a native of the land of the Nile, he having been born at Cama, near Heraclea, A.D. 251. There is, undoubtedly, a difficulty to understand how the mediæval artists became acquainted with the Egyptian symbol; but they may, perchance, have learnt it from pilgrims returning from the East; perhaps even from the pious Joceline, who enriched Europe with the saint's remains.

Our respected Vice-President, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, has a passage in his *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. 1854, i, 277), so pertinent to the matter under review, that with it I beg to close these brief notes. The learned author says: "The origin of the 'tau' I cannot precisely determine; but this curious fact is connected with it in later times, that the early Christians of Egypt adopted it in lieu of the cross, which was afterwards substituted for it; prefixing it to inscriptions in the same manner as the cross in later times, and numerous inscriptions headed by the 'tau' are preserved to the present day in early Christian sepulchres at the great Oasis."

THE CROSS TAU OF ST ANTHONY





RUSSO-GREEK PORTABLE ICONS OF BRASS.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., ETC.

OF all the multifarious objects that offer themselves to the consideration of the archæologist, none are more interesting or important than those which refer to religion. Whatever tends, or is believed to tend, to the development of the religious sentiment amongst any nation or people, cannot but be of interest to us, however widely we may be separated by mental culture, by local position, or by habits of religious thought, from those by whom such objects are employed. The subject, therefore, of which I am to treat on this occasion, needs no apology at my hands. The only apology that I have to offer is, that with so slight a knowledge of the matter, I have accepted the challenge made to me at our late meeting (March 13th) to prepare a paper upon Russo-Greek portable icons. So little, however, seems to be known upon the subject here in England, and accurate books of information appear so scanty, that I hope even so humble a contribution as the present may not be without interest.

So far back as 1802 the subject was brought before the readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. VIATOR sends to Mr. URBAN what he calls "a little brass book". It "contains on three leaves some representations of religious subjects, which may, perhaps, be deemed a curiosity. The characters are Russian, and it has very probably been the pocket companion of some person of distinction." This "little brass book" is engraved in plate ii, figs. 1, 2, 3, opposite to p. 993. It is a triptych with three equal leaves. A little further on in the same volume, "D. H." writes, "The Russian brass book resembles that of silver-gilt, engraved in *Archæologia* (vol. xii, pl. 1, p. 332), though that is called a tablet." To save any of our associates the trouble of hunting out this reference, I may say that the tablet engraved in the *Archæologia* is a diptych from the Arundelian collection, and that it has nothing whatever of Russian character about it.

My search for information in books having failed as signally as did this particular investigation, I turned my attention to other channels of knowledge, and I was so fortunate as to obtain an introduction to Mr. Basil Popoff of the

Russian embassy, to whose large and accurate information, most generously and kindly placed at my disposal, I hasten to acknowledge my debt of gratitude. By his aid I have been able to decipher the inscriptions placed upon the various examples I produce, and to draw up the detailed account of them which forms an appendix to this paper.

In what I have to say, I shall of course endeavour to keep clear of the theological side of the matter. It will only be necessary for me to state that the "Greek Church rejects all massive images of the Saviour or saints as idolatrous; but pictures, mosaics, bas-reliefs, and, in short, all that is represented on a flat surface, is not held a violation of the law which says 'thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.'"¹ Dr. King, in his *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia* (4to., London, 1772), states the Greek view of the design of this second commandment to be, that it was intended to prohibit the worship of the idols of the Gentiles; and adds that the Greek Church admits "no graven images, but pictures only, upon which the name of the saint to be represented must always be inscribed." He further speaks of religious pictures as "not only an indispensable ornament, but an accessory," in the worship of the Greek communion; and observes that such pictures are to be found "in every public office or college, in a corner of every apartment in private houses, and in every shop in the public markets."²

The particular kind of portable icon which I now exhibit is in very general use amongst the Russian peasantry. The wealthy classes wear similar icons, but of a much more costly character,—some are even of gold. When a peasant is about to send his son to service in the army, he often takes from his neck the icon that he and his forefathers have worn, and places it, with his benediction, on the young soldier's breast. To the soldier himself the icon becomes a memento of his country, of his family, of his religion. Of his country, because it usually bears the effigy of some Russian saint, very frequently the patron saint, S. Nicholas; of his family, for this icon may have been an heirloom; of his religion, for when about to offer his prayers, he opens his triptych or diptych, and kneels before it as before a portable altar. He carries it, suspended round his neck, through

¹ *Encyclop. Brit.*, art. "Russo-Greek Church."

² Dr. King, *Rites and Ceremonies*, etc., pp. 8, 33.

the vicissitudes of a campaign; and when, his labours ended, he returns to his native parish, he often hangs this cherished possession upon the iconostasis of his village church, as a votive offering to commemorate his preservation.

The examples now exhibited may be classed as follows: triptychs, diptychs, and single plaques, a crucifix, religious medals. Of the triptychs there are three varieties,—the first having two smaller leaves which meet in the middle, and do not overlap, the whole surmounted by an elaborate crest; the second having similar leaves, but a very simple crest; and the third having three leaves of very nearly equal dimensions. The first and second of these classes have no external ornamentation; but in the third variety, external ornament is not unusual. The diptychs have two equal leaves, each leaf having external ornament. The single plaques are generally intended for suspension, though not always, and have usually a crest.

The subjects most frequently represented are events in the life of the Redeemer, or in the history of the Virgin Mary, Russian saints with their appropriate symbols, and copies of certain local pictures of the saints. These local icons have usually a special name: thus, not to particularise too closely, there is the icon of Tula, the icon of Vladimir, the icon of Kazan, of Pskoff, of Smolensk, of Gruz, each icon having its own legend or history. Sometimes a pious abbot received permission from the emperor to design a new icon, and this became accordingly the icon of the monastery in which he ruled. Sometimes an icon is said to have been miraculously given, like that given to the architects of the Kievo-Pechersky church in 1085. Sometimes an ancient picture is said to have been miraculously preserved, like that of the Iberian monastery on Mount Athos, which having been cast into the sea by a pious widow, to preserve it from the insults of the iconoclasts, was recovered two centuries afterwards, a fiery column designating to the monks the precise spot where it had been cast. These several pictures, of which there are probably forty or fifty, highly venerated in certain localities, are often reproduced upon these brass tablets, as, for example, upon No. 4 (figured, see plate), which represents S. Nicholas of Mojaysk.¹

¹ See plates 7, 8, 9, where the several examples drawn are numbered to correspond with the numbers in the Appendix to this paper.

Allied to these are certain special icons representing the Saviour, or the saints, under some particular aspect. No. 13 represents the Saviour as "the Lord God the Παντοκράτωρ"; No. 25 (figured, see plate) is the icon of the Virgin Mary, known as "the comfort of all grieving."

Of the saints represented on these tablets, the most usual is, as might be expected, S. Nicholas, the patron saint of Russia, who is commemorated in their calendar on December 6, as "our father Nicholas, bishop of Myra in Lycia, and wonder-worker." Besides the ordinary Old and New Testament saints, there are many whose very names are strange and unfamiliar to English ears, as S. Boris and S. Glieb and S. Tychon. But I do not propose to lead you into the wide and difficult subject of Russian hagiology; those who desire information upon this matter, may be referred to the Rev. J. M. Neale's *General Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*.

The inscriptions which abound upon these icons are in Greek or in Slavonic. In Greek we find, continually recurring, the monograms of the name of our Lord, IC and XC; and those of the Virgin Mary, MP ΘΣ. But by far the greater number of the inscriptions are in Slavonic, "the church language of all the Russias and of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Slavonia Proper, Dalmatia, and Bulgaria."¹ They usually consist merely of the name of the saint, contracted in the most arbitrary manner, or of some short sentence descriptive of a portion of the picture, as "the Son of God," "the angels of the Lord," and the like; though sometimes, as in the case of the crucifix and of the religious medals, the inscription is a text or a prayer.

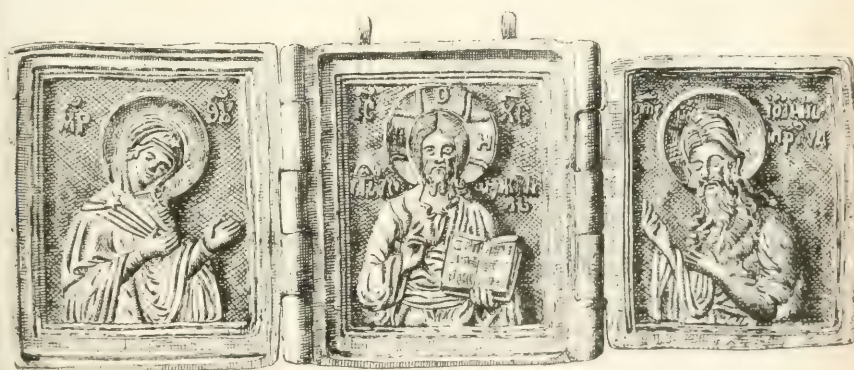
The costume of some of the figures represented will be found most interesting. In No. 4 (see plate), the icon of S. Nicholas of Mojaysk, the Greek ecclesiastical vestments are admirably shewn. The peculiar "epitrachelion," the equivalent of the Latin stole; the "phænolion," or chasuble, of a form unusual to western eyes, with its rich embroidery; the "epigonation" (which has no western equivalent), originally, I believe, an episcopal vestment suspended from the zone, on the right side, but conferred as a mark of honour on the inferior clergy; and the "onophorion," or pall. All these are clearly shewn in this one tablet. On others may be seen the small "pateressa," or pastoral staff, of the Greek bishop; with its

¹ Neale, p. 821.

The hatch part of No. 1. The
 with four chapters. The whole
 with three chapters.



No 1



No 13

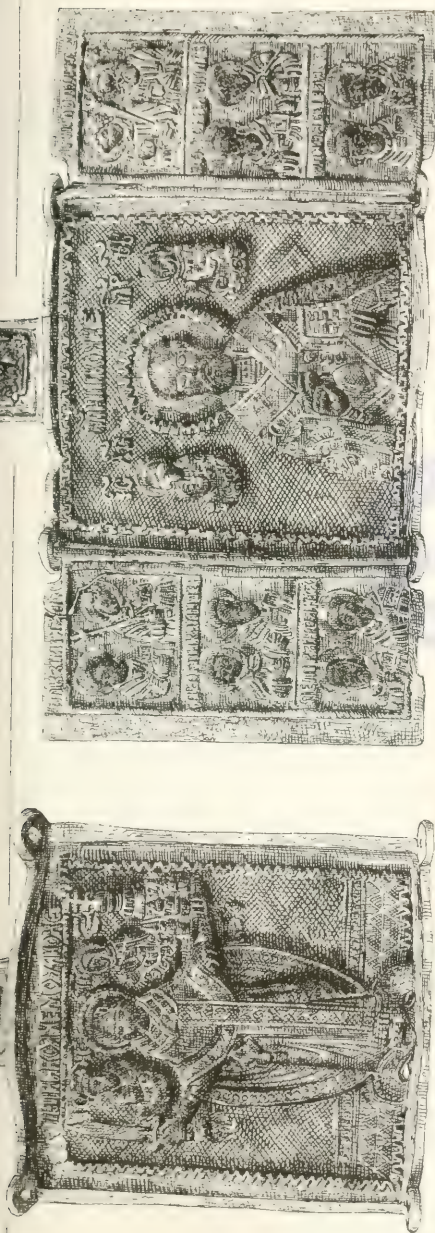


The three panels of N° 3 are the latest and most interesting of the series, and contain the most important scenes of the life of the Virgin Mary. The central panel, which is the largest, represents the birth of the Virgin Mary, and the two side panels represent the childhood of the Virgin Mary. The entire series is executed in a very fine and delicate style, and is of great historical and artistic value.

N° 3



N° 4



N° 11



The metal plates of the ...
with their ...
which are ...



No 9 (folds enlaid)



No 21.



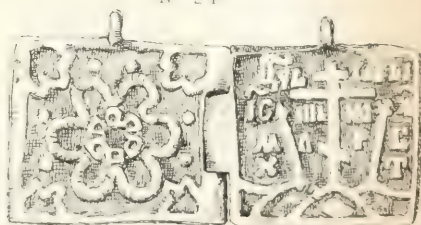
No 25



No 24



No 14



No 17. (the outside of the plates is not given)



crescent-shaped handle, the ends of which are often decorated with serpents' heads.

The subjects from the Sacred History are not always those which are most familiar in western art. We have, for example, the three angels entertained by Abraham, which, as the inscription is careful to inform us, is to be regarded as a kind of symbol of the Holy Trinity; the birth of the Virgin Mary, Joachim and Anna in the Temple, the resurrection of the Lord from Hades, and other subjects common in Russo-Greek art, but certainly less frequent amongst our early pictures.

I am told that many of these brass icons are manufactured at Tula, "the Russian Birmingham," as Murray calls it in his *Handbook*,—a city one hundred and sixty-nine versts from Moscow, "famed for its manufactories of firearms and hardware." A Russian merchant further informs me that the tablets are carried about the country by pedlars, and by them exchanged amongst the peasantry for bristles, which these pedlars collect throughout the villages.

I must not omit to mention that these icons are not intended for personal use only: these, and larger brass tablets, are hung upon the eastern wall of houses in Russia, and towards these the prayers of the family are said. In some churches, near the entrance, a large diptych is placed, containing upon one of its leaves a picture of some incident in Holy Scripture, and on the other the figure of a saint; and this diptych is usually kissed by the worshippers on their entrance into the building.

Many of these religious pictures found their way into this country immediately after the Russian war. Some were taken from the bodies of the Russian soldiers after the well-known battles of those campaigns. One example (No. 5) was taken by a captain of the Guards from the neck of a dead Russian after the battle of Inkerman, and was presented by him to our associate, Mr. Cecil Brent. Others were taken from the houses of the peasants; and some, I fear, were plundered from churches. (See also Appendix, Nos. 9 and 10.)

Of the date of these specimens I can say nothing that will be satisfactory or conclusive. Those examples which are decorated with enamel are considered to be the most ancient. By far the greater part of those before us are, or have been, so decorated. I am told that few, if any, of these have a



higher antiquity, notwithstanding their archaic appearance, than the year 1700. But the unwonted character of the inscriptions, the contracted Greek, the strange forms of the Slavonic letters, the Byzantine designs, and the general air of antiquity which many of these examples possess, might have led one to assign some at least to a period more remote. On the other hand, the unchangeable character of Greek ecclesiastical art must be borne in mind; repeating, as it does, age after age, the forms familiar to the earliest painters.

I beg to offer a detailed list of the subjects represented on the whole of the twenty-nine examples exhibited.

Detailed Catalogue of Russo-Greek Portable Icons in Brass, exhibited before the British Archaeological Association, 27 March, 1867.

I am aware that the classification here adopted is not exhaustive, and that there are other forms besides those here enumerated. For example, at the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn-street, is a Russo-Greek icon having *four* leaves. It is about six inches in height, and, when unfolded, about sixteen inches long. Each leaf is divided, crosswise, into four compartments of equal size, each compartment having a separate subject. The upper part of each leaf contains also a subject under a kind of ogee arch. The ground is filled in with a dark blue enamel. In the collection at Abbotsford there is also a four-leaved portable icon. It should be borne in mind that this detailed list refers only to the examples exhibited.

CLASS I.—Triptychs having two small leaves which meet in the middle of the centre plate, the whole surmounted by an elaborate crest.
Two examples, Nos. 1, 2.

No. 1 (*figured, see plate 7*). On the centre plate the Virgin Mary represented in glory, a nimbus round the head, the hands extended; in the right hand a sceptre terminated by a fleur de lis; on either side a group of saints. This icon is probably allied to No. 25. Dexter plate divided horizontally into two compartments,—upper, entry into Jerusalem; lower, Joachim and Anna in the Temple. Sinister panel similarly divided,—upper, the raising of Lazarus; lower, the ascension of our Lord. The crest consists of a panel on which is represented the subject of the three angels entertained by Abraham (Genesis xviii); above, on a small plate, the *sudarium*, with the portrait of the Lord; on either side a cherubic figure having six wings. This *sudarium*, or, as it is called in the Greek church, “the icon of our Lord not made with hands,” is that of Abgarus, king of Edessa: its translation from Edessa, in 944, under Constantine

Porphyrogenitus, is commemorated in the Greek calendar on August 16. This example retains considerable remains of enamel.

No. 2. The centre plate of a similarly arranged triptych. The half-figure of a venerable person, S. Nicholas, with flowing beard and moustache; a nimbus round the head; the right hand raised in benediction, whilst the left holds a book of the Gospel ensigned with a cross with three beams (the form called by Mrs. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, p. 323, fig. 246, the papal cross); the robe richly embroidered. On the dexter side a small figure of the Saviour issuing from a cloud. On the sinister side a similar figure of the Virgin Mary. Above each figure its name. The crest as in No. 1.

CLASS II.—Triptychs having two small leaves which meet in the middle of the centre plate; surmounted by a single crest, which is in all the examples enumerated, the *sudarium*. The folding plates of all have the same figures enumerated in No. 3. Eight examples, Nos. 3-10.

No. 3 (*figured, see plate*). Upon the centre plate S. Nicholas, as in No. 2. Each folding plate is divided into three compartments horizontally; in each compartment are two figures of saints, whose names are inscribed in Slavonic letters. Dexter plate,—1, SS. Peter and Michael; 2, SS. George and Basil; 3, SS. Peter and John. Sinister plate,—1, SS. Cyril and Paul; 2, SS. Gregory and Matthew; 3, SS. and

No. 4 (*figured, see plate*). On the centre plate a special icon, S. Nicholas of Mojaysk; a full length standing figure bearing in his right hand a sword, in his left hand a church. He is richly vested. On his right and left are half-figures of the Saviour and the Virgin Mary issuing from clouds, as in Nos. 2 and 3. The dexter folding plate alone remains.

No. 5. On the centre plate S. Nicholas, as in No. 3, though from a different mould.

No. 6. A variety of No. 3.

No. 7. On the centre plate a female figure with a nimbus, holding before her breast a cross in her right hand; in her left hand is the Gospel. This is, in all probability, the icon of Pekow, representing the Virgin Mary. The small half-figures on either side are: dexter, S. Philip; sinister, S. Michael.

No. 8. On the centre plate the annunciation to the Virgin Mary. The angel Gabriel on the dexter side. A ray of light falls from heaven upon the standing figure of the Virgin, and in the ray the holy dove descends. The background is filled with architectural ornament.

No. 9 (*figured, see plate*). On the centre plate, the birth of the

Virgin Mary (commemorated, in the Greek calendar, on September 8); and also, on the dexter side of the subject, the introduction to the Temple (commemorated November 21). The architectural ornament is very elegant. This triptych was taken from the body of a Russian soldier in the valley of Inkerman.

No. 10 appears to have been gilt. The centre plate bears three standing figures, full length, each with a nimbus. The centre figure is S. Nicholas. This triptych was taken by a French soldier from a Russian priest at Yenikale.

CLASS III.—Triptychs having three leaves of very nearly equal dimensions, and without a crest. Three examples, Nos. 11-13.

No. 11 (*figured, see plate*). On the centre plate the three angels entertained by Abraham (Genesis xviii); the angels are seated round a table; each bears a pilgrim's, or perhaps a bishop's staff; upon the table are three cups; in the centre cup are two cakes of bread; above is a Slavonic inscription indicating that this picture is a symbol of the Holy Trinity. On the dexter plate the crucifixion; the Saviour extended upon the cross; the title bears the monograms, $\pi\epsilon$ and $\kappa\epsilon$; at the ends of the beam of the cross, in Slavonic, "The Son of God"; above are two angels, and this inscription, "The angels of our Lord"; in the midst, between the monograms, the *sudarium* and the sacred monograms repeated; two standing figures are depicted on either side of the cross; on the dexter, S. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin Mother; on the sinister, S. John and S. Longinus, their names above their heads (S. Longinus is here only designated $\kappa\omicron\iota\iota\chi$, a soldier: Longinus, "the centurion who stood by the cross," is commemorated in the Greek calendar on June 16). On the sinister plate, the resurrection of the Lord out of Hades; the figure of the Saviour is surrounded by an aureole; saints, each with a nimbus round the head, attend Him; one saint is crowned; the Saviour, with His right hand, leads forth another saint. On the outer side of the dexter plate, in an ornamented circle, are the instruments of the crucifixion and the sacred monograms.

The plates are all adorned with enamel. Two loops, for suspension, are attached to the centre plate.

No. 12. Very similar in style and execution to No. 11. On the centre plate, the resurrection of the Lord from Hades, as on the sinister plate of No. 11. On the dexter plate, the ascension of the Lord; the ascending Saviour, within an aureole, resting on clouds supported by two angels; two other angels blow trumpets; below are the Virgin and the apostles. The inscriptions are, "The angels of the Lord," " $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron}$," "Apostles of the Lord." On sinister plate, the birth of the Virgin Mary, as on the centre plate

of No. 9. On the outer side of the dexter plate the instruments of the crucifixion, as in No. 11, with the addition of some indication of Jerusalem in the background.

All the plates adorned with enamel.

No. 13. On the centre plate a special icon, "The Lord God the Παντοκράτωρ"; a half-length figure of the Holy Saviour; round the head a cruciform nimbus bearing the letters *Ω Ων*. On either side of the head the monograms *IC* and *XC*; the right hand raised in benediction; the left hand holds the open Gospel inscribed, in Slavonic, "Come to me all ye who labour." Dexter plate, the Virgin Mary with nimbus; on either side of which are the monograms *MP* and *ΘΣ*; a star upon her forehead, and two upon her breast; her hands raised towards the central figure. Sinister plate, S. John Baptist in his raiment of camel's hair, flowing beard and hair, head surrounded by a nimbus. In the Rev. J. M. Neale's translation of the Greek calendar, S. John Baptist has three festivals,—his conception, September 23; his nativity, June 24; his decollation, August 29.

CLASS IV.—Diptychs. Those in the present collection are all small, consisting of two equal plates, each having a ring for suspension, and sometimes having a metal loop and pin for keeping the leaves closed. The outer sides of these diptychs have on one leaf the instruments of the crucifixion; on the other, an ornament, the centre of which is not unlike the Tudor rose. The enamel, in larger or smaller proportion, generally remains. Six examples, Nos. 14-19.

No. 14 (*figured, see plate*). Dexter plate, a special icon. The Virgin and child, framed as in a picture; on either side inscriptions; below, two saints, each with a nimbus pointing upwards to the picture. The dexter figure is S. —; sinister, S. Theodore. On the sinister plate, S. Nicholas, in a similar border, holding a book; two half-figures, one on either side.

Nos. 15, 16. Duplicates of No. 14.

No. 17 (*figured, see plate*). The same subjects as No. 14, but the figure of S. Nicholas has no border.

Nos. 18, 19. Duplicates of No. 17.

CLASS V.—Single plates for suspension. Six examples, Nos. 20-25.

No. 20. A quadrangular plate, rather wider at the upper than at the lower part; the enamel remains. In a large circle are six smaller circles, each containing a single figure, grouped around a central circle in which is depicted the subject described above, as exhibited on the centre plate of No. 11. The upper angles of the plate are filled in by small figures of cherubs with two wings; the lower angles by a rose. A vine bearing grapes fills up the inter-

stices between the circles, its uppermost tendrils passing through a crown. This is the only uninscribed plate in the collection; perhaps it may have formed part of a small coffer.

No. 21 (*figured, see plate*). A quadrangular plate surmounted by a crest, the *sudarium*, at the back of which is the usual loop for suspension. In the centre is a half-figure of S. Nicholas, fully robed, and holding in his left hand the Gospel, to which he points with his right hand, the fingers in an attitude of benediction. There is a small figure on either side, each holding a cross before his breast. Dexter, S. Tychon; sinister, S. Michael.

No. 22. A similar plate with a large figure of S. Nicholas in the centre. The small figures in this example are the Holy Saviour and the Virgin Mother.

No. 23. A half-figure of the Virgin Mary with a starry nimbus, holding on her right arm a whole length figure of the Holy Child stretching out his arms to embrace her; his head surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. The sacred monograms as usual.

No. 24 (*figured, see plate*). Two equestrian figures, each with a nimbus and a conical cap. The dexter figure, S. Glied, is youthful, and bears in his right hand a small banner; the sinister figure, S. Boris, wears a beard and moustache, and carries in his right hand a drawn sword. These are two brothers, princes, sons of Vladimir, martyred in 1015. Their translation is commemorated in the Russian Church on May 2. "The great Prince Glied," as he is called in the Russian calendar, is commemorated also on Sept. 5. (See Neale, p. 789, note x.)

No. 25 (*figured, see plate*). A special icon, the Virgin Mary as "the comfort of all grieving". The Virgin holds in her hands branches of palm (?); on either side are saints; above, in the clouds of heaven, the Holy Saviour.

CLASS VI.—Plaque not intended for suspension. One example, No. 26.

No. 26. Half-figure of the Virgin with a starry nimbus, holding on her left arm a three-quarter figure of the Holy Child, around whose head, within a plain nimbus, appears to be the crown of thorns.

CLASS VII.—Crucifix. One example.

No. 27. The feet of the crucified Saviour rest on the *scabellum*; above the head are two angels descending; between them the *sudarium*; at the base of the cross a skull, and the letters γ, α , i.e., $\Gamma\omicron\lambda\gamma\omicron\theta\alpha$. Upon the cross is incised a hymn of the Church, repeated, in the fourth week in Lent, in commemoration of the holy cross. The words, translated *literatim* and *lineatim*, are these:

"King of Glory,
The Holy Crucifixion

To the Cross, Thine
We bow down, O Lord, and Thy Holy Resurrection
We glorify."

CLASS VIII.—Religious medals. Two examples, Nos. 28, 29.

No. 28. A pectoral cross. On the obverse the cross, lance, and reed, surmounted by a sponge, and these inscriptions :

"King of glory,
Jesus Christ,
Son of God,

υικα,"

It is worthy of observation, in connexion with this inscription, that in the Rev. J. M. Neale's account of the office of the "Prothesis" (*General Introduction*, p. 342), one of the small loaves employed in that office is figured. It is flat and round, like a piece of money, and has a square projection rising from it, on which are stamped these letters,

IC	XC
NI	KA

that is, of course, "Jesus Christ conquers." In the Constantinopolitan liturgy there is a slight variation in the inscription, IHC being substituted for the IC.

On the reverse of the medal, in Slavonic letters, an evening prayer, usually repeated before sleep. Literally thus (a version of Psalm lxxviii, *Exurgat Deus*, "Let God arise"),—"Let God arise and dispel His enemies: and may all hating Him fly from Him. Like smoke let them disappear: and like wax melts from the face of the fire, so let perish the demons from the face of those loving God, and signing themselves (with the sign of the cross)."

No. 29. A smaller pendant medal with a similar design, and with the same inscription.

As the subject is one not familiar to English readers, it may be as well to subjoin a list of the principal icons of the Virgin Mary, extracted from the Rev. J. M. Neale's *Calendar of the Russian Church*, with the days on which they are commemorated,—the icon of Kostroma, March 14; of Iberian Monastery, March 31; of Kievo-Pechersky, May 3; of Vladimir, June 23; of Kazan, July 8; of Pskoff, July 16; of Smolensk, July 28; of Paletz, August 13; of Donsk, August 19; of Gruz, August 22; of Vladimir, August 26; of Kazan, October 22.

Of the objects exhibited, Nos. 5 and 22 belong to Mr. Cecil Brent; No. 12 to Mr. Cato. Nos. 6, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, are kindly lent by Mr. Lincoln. Nos. 11, 12, 20, are said to have been procured from Russian prisoners confined in Lewes Gaol. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, are from my own collection.

ON THE HISTORY OF ST. MARY'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH IN HASTINGS CASTLE.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

THE excellent paper which has already appeared in the *Sussex Archæological Collections* (vol. xiii, pp. 132-179), and the incidental notices which are scattered at intervals throughout that journal, respecting the College and Priory of Hastings and the Priory of Warbleton, have set forth so many details concerning them, that I shall not attempt to add anything to their statements in regard to those events which have been already duly ascertained and authenticated. As some few facts, however, appear still somewhat obscure in reference to the early history of St. Mary's, I venture to hope that the speculations in which I am about to indulge concerning such points as have not yet been quite satisfactorily settled, will be favourably received, if not altogether on account of their conclusiveness (as many, doubtless, will dissent from them), yet at any rate for their brevity; since I know, from dire experience, what an infliction a long dissertation is, which, like Pope's "needless Alexandrine, drags its slow length along," and wearies the patience of every one who hears it, except that of the learned but somewhat impulsive and long-winded author himself. Referring, therefore, those whom it may concern to the valuable publication which I have mentioned, for all the known facts concerning the history of our subject, I will endeavour to elucidate some few matters upon which considerable doubt still continues to exist.

And, first, it appears that there is much uncertainty both as to the founder of the church, and as to the time when it was built and endowed. Some writers are inclined to attribute it to the Saxon period, although I have not been able to ascertain the precise grounds upon which they arrive at that conclusion; for be it remembered that this paper relates only to the *ecclesiastical* establishment of St. Mary's, and not at all to the general history and antiquity of the military portion of the Castle. I myself can discover nothing which points to anything earlier than a Norman origin, and

my belief that it is Norman rests upon the following grounds. It is well known that William I granted to Robert Count of Eu the Castlery of Hastings, as a reward for his having been one of the chief counsellors of the monarch's successful invasion of this kingdom. Now in 1093-4, which was the 7th William II, we learn that not only was the church of St. Mary, in the Castle, standing, but that it was in ordinary use for ecclesiastical purposes. Matthew Paris, in his *Historia Anglorum*, writing of the year 1093, says, "anno quoque sub eodem convenientibus totius Angliæ episcopis, Thomas Eboracensis Episcopus, Anselmum Cantuariensem electum pridie nonas Decembris consecravit antistitem"; thus fixing the precise day of the installation of the archbishop. Anselm, then, having been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on the 4th of December, 1093, in February 1094, in consequence of William's having determined upon an expedition into Normandy, the king and the court were assembled at Hastings. It is, perhaps, in a slight degree "travelling out of the record," if I pause here for a minute to call attention to the "manners and customs" of this period, and shew what a fashionable watering-place was in the time of William Rufus; so as to afford archæologists an opportunity of comparing the *tout ensemble* of the frequenters of Hastings during his reign, with the appearance and bearing of those who visit it in these more enlightened days.

The following, then, is the description given of Hastings, in the year 1094, by the Dean of Chichester, who, as he tells us, derives his knowledge of the customs of the age from Eadmer, William of Mahnesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ordericus Vitalis. "It was," he says, "a scene of gaiety; and while the smiths were repairing their armour, the young courtiers paraded in the fashionable attire of the age. They wore tunics with deep sleeves, and mantles with long trains. Their caps or bonnets were of the richest fur, adorned with precious stones or gold. The girdles which bound their doublets to the body were adorned with clasps like birds' beaks. Their cloaks and mantles were of the finest cloth. Their shoes were remarkable, being peaked, with long, sharp points stuffed with tow, and twisted to imitate a ram's horn or the coils of a serpent; gold and silver chains attached them to their knees. We are not surprised when we hear

that thus shod, their gait appeared to be affected, that they came tripping rather than walking, and that the frequenters of William's court should shew but little reverence to their spiritual pastors and masters, meeting them with a free and easy nod instead of tendering a humble obeisance. All this offended Anselm; but he was most provoked with what was a new fashion among the Normans. The young men appeared with their long hair divided in front, and curled. Eadmer, moreover, mentions it as a fact, that they actually combed it every day. Their hair fell in ringlets down their backs, and was often lengthened by the addition of false curls. They had also permitted their beards to grow. When Lent commenced, the archbishop denounced the prevalent fashion, and declared that none should receive absolution who did not clip their hair, and shave off their beards. The bishop of Rochester (Gundulf) concurred. I believe that a successor of his, in these modern days, adopted similar views with regard to the clerical votaries of St. Barbatus; and although, perhaps, he would not have gone so far as to deny them absolution, yet he was said to be extremely strict in tonsorial matters, and to enforce very close shaving upon all ecclesiastics in his jurisdiction. I do not know whether those opinions upon this point are shared by his brethren on the episcopal bench; but in William's time it appears that "Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, and Ralph, bishop of Chichester, were the only two among the English bishops who maintained the cause of Anselm." So that in those early days the bishop of our diocese was opposed to clerical *chignons* and ringlets, for, as Dr. Hook tells us, quoting from the life of Wulfstan in the *Anglia Sacra*, "Wulfstan, the noble-hearted Anglo-Saxon bishop, being a practical man, used with his own hands to poll the heads of those who would submit to it; for which purpose he kept a little knife, which also served him for trimming his nails or cleaning his books. Those who would not accept him as a barber, he lectured for their effeminacy, and threatened them openly with God's judgment"; or, to use the words of William of Malmesbury, "ille vitiosos, et præsertim eos qui crimem pascere insecutari" ("he was wont to be very bitter against the immoral, and especially so against those who cherished their hair"), which plainly shews that he thought those who cultivated flowing locks were even more deserving of episcopal censure

than those who led vicious lives; and he assigned as a reason for this, that men who imitated women in the growth of their hair ought to blush for themselves, for they would be of no more use than women in defending their country against invaders from over the sea; and our learned Vice-President, Mr. Planché, shews us how general the feeling of the Normans was against "curled darlings" in those days, by pointing out to us, and remarking upon, their closely cropped polls in the Bayeux tapestry.

But to return from this digression to the history of St. Mary's Collegiate Church. It was, as we have seen, certainly used for ecclesiastical purposes in 1094; for in that year Robert Bloet, the royal chaplain, was consecrated there by Anselm as bishop of Lincoln. Eadmer, in his *Historia Norvorum*, gives the following account of the proceedings upon the occasion: "Evolutis de hinc aliquantibus diebus ex præcepto Regis omnes fere episcopi una cum principibus Angliæ ad Hastings convenerunt, ipsum regem in Normanniam transfretaturum suâ benedictione et concursu prosecuti. Venit et pater Anselmus suis quam maximè orationibus per marina pericula Regem protegendo ducturus. Morati vero sunt ibi Rex et Principes plus uno mense, vento transitum Regi prohibente. *In quâ morâ Anselmus sacravit in Ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ quæ est in ipso Castello, Robertum ad regimen Ecclesiæ Lincolnienensis*, ministrantibus sibi in hoc officio septem de suffraganeis episcopis suis." The church, then, was evidently founded before 1094, and is said to be "in ipso castello" (in or within the very Castle itself). And the next question, the right solution of which solves the first, is, who was its founder?

In answering this we must unfortunately rely entirely upon second-hand evidence, as the original deed of foundation is lost; or if it is still in existence, it has not yet been discovered. We have, however, I think, sufficient proof to shew that it was founded by Robert Earl of Eu, who flourished during the reign of William the Conqueror, and died in 1090, which was the 4th of William II. Anselm (I mean, of course, the French writer, not the anti-hair-and-beard-growing archbishop), in his *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de France* (vol. ii, p. 494), gives us a short memoir of this nobleman, which he has compiled from fuller accounts of him in the *Historie Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*.



In this latter work, to which I have myself referred, he is frequently noticed, both in the *Gesta Gulielmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*, by William of Poitiers, archdeacon of Lisieux, and in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Ordericus Vitalis, who were both of them contemporaries of the Count of Eu. By these writers he is lauded not only as a valiant soldier, but as a man who was eminent for his abilities even among the bishops and abbots of the period; and as being one of the most distinguished of those who "were mighty in the splendour of great liberality, conspicuous for their zeal in religion, and in their practice of all sorts and kinds of goodness." Now we know that this illustrious personage was not only given to found and endow churches and abbeys himself, but that he came of a church founding and endowing, or, as it would probably be called in these days, a "serious" family. Thus his father, William the Bastard of Normandy, founded and endowed the church of Nôtre Dame at Eu; and his mother, Lezieline, the daughter of Turketil, lord of Turqueville in Normandy, founded the abbey of St. Peter at Dive. His brother Hugh, who was bishop of Lisieux, built a monastery in his episcopal city, and completed, and was a great benefactor to, the cathedral there; while Count Robert himself, in 1056, founded the abbey of Treport, on the sea, near Eu; contributed largely to his mother's ecclesiastical establishment at Dive, granted his forest of Espinay to the abbey of St. Catherine at Rouen, and took an active part in the foundation of the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen; while his name appears among those of the lay witnesses to the confirmation charter of William I, by which, in 1069, he regrants the priory of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, with its land and possessions, as it had been originally granted in the time of Edward the Confessor, of St. Denis in France.¹

But not only do the antecedents of Count Robert of Eu render it probable that he may have founded the Church of St. Mary in the Castle at Hastings, but one of the records of the Court of Chancery (formerly in the Tower of London, but now transferred to the Public Record Office) proves, I think, beyond a doubt that he was the founder, and not, as has been very often stated, merely its great benefactor and refounder. The record to which I refer occurs in a roll en-

¹ Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, London, 1823, vol. iv, p. 665.

titled a "Visitation of the Free Chapel within the Castle of Hastings," and is styled "the foundation, or confirmation of the foundation or ordination of the Chapel of Hastings, and the prebends of the same, by Henry Earl of Eu." Now this charter has hitherto been stated to be of the time of Henry II, and to contain a list of the grants and benefactions made to the church by the *second* Henry Earl of Eu, who flourished during Henry II's reign, and died in 1183. But I venture to think that the words used in the document itself, which is undated, indicate plainly that it is of the time of Henry I, or, at the latest, of that of Stephen; and that the Count d'Eu, by whom the grants were made, was Henry the first of that name, and not the second.

In the first place, then, the following passages occur in the deed: "Whereas it behoveth that we should not only be successors to those things which descend to us by hereditary right, but that we should more especially be heirs of the religion of our forefathers; therefore I will that those holy places and churches which my progenitors have founded should be venerated and exalted. Now, although I am not able to augment the benefices pertaining to such places so liberally as I should wish to do, I am at least desirous, as it becometh me to be, that those things which are left there by my ancestors should be preserved entire. I have, therefore, considered it proper and useful that the canons of the same place (viz. of the Church of St. Mary of Hastings) and my barons being called together, I should order to be made known, in presence of all, what my father, or rather my grandfather, R[obert] Earl of Augo (or Eu) gave and granted in alms to those who were first appointed brethren of the prebends"; and after this, in reciting previous grants, Earl Henry says, "thus R[obert] Earl of Eu, *the founder and builder of the church*"; here stating clearly that his grandfather was the very builder and founder of the church, and not, as some suppose (upon what ground I confess I am at a loss to imagine), merely its rebuilder and refounder. Now the grandfather of the first Henry d'Eu was Robert, whereas the grandfather of the second Henry was this very Henry the first; and, therefore, if the deed had been drawn by the second Henry, he could not have called Robert his grandfather.¹

¹ There is a translation of this charter in the British Museum, in Additional MSS. 15,662, f. 171, but it is very inaccurate. It gives the date as of the reign

Having now got through this chronological and genealogical quagmire, which I fear must appear to savour somewhat of the intricacy of that well-known query, "If Dick's father is John's son, what relation is Dick to John?" I will merely add that one of the witnesses to this deed is called "Hugh the dean," which proves that Thomas à Becket could not have been the first dean; for Becket's appointment took place about 1157, and there is no Dean Hugh mentioned *after* his time. This, then, is another, as I think, irrefragable argument that the charter we have been considering is of a date anterior to Henry II.

I shall now, however, proceed to the consideration of another point connected with the history of St. Mary's in the Castle, which is also somewhat of a *crux*, and that is the period at which it was removed from its original position to the spot which it afterwards occupied, and where only a few ruins now remain to indicate to us what it once was. That it was so removed is beyond a doubt, as I hope to prove by the following observations.

Rouse tells us that "in 1094 William II held a great council in the Castle of Hastings, which stood below the cliff, upon a site which the sea afterwards overflowed"; for the comparatively modern fort or castle erected by William the Conqueror was a distinct building from the Saxon castle upon the cliff, and was situated, to use the words of the petition of the Dean and Chapter to Edward III, "*infra claustrum quod per frequentes inundationes maris pro majori parte devastatur*"; which proves that the chapel then stood below the *claustrum*, or barrier, so to speak, which was then, for the greater part, destroyed by the sea. In the fifth year of this king, therefore, they obtained the well-known royal charter empowering them to enclose the Castle and its precincts with walls, so as to secure the church from the irruptions of the sea, which ultimately destroyed so much of the town that, as Mr. Durrant Cooper informs us, "in the will of Richard Meeching (1436), All Saints' Church is called

of Henry VI; calls the "*Comes de Augo*," or Eu, the Earl of Anjou; and whereas it styles the Earl correctly as "Henry" throughout the body of the document, it designates him in the attesting clause as Count "Hugh". A translation of the inquisition of 2 Edward I is in the same volume, at f. 179; of the charter of the 25th and 26th Henry VI, securing the jurisdiction to the Bishop of Chichester, in Additional MSS. 15,663, f. 155; and the *Inquisitio ad quod damnum* of 4th Edward III, granting the licence to the Dean and Chapter to enclose the Castle, in Additional MSS. 15,664, f. 107.

the new church"—a fact which, added to others that he mentions, seems, and most justly so, to afford "conclusive proof that the old part of the town stood seaward of the present streets, and that hence is to be found the reason why so few remains have been brought to light." But it was not only the inroads of the sea that involved a great part of Hastings in ruin, for in the 2nd of Richard II (1378) the French burnt it; and we are told in the charter of Edward, that "the aforesaid free chapel, from want of enclosure of the Castle aforesaid, which by frequent inundations of the sea is for the greater part destroyed, on account of this is looked upon as a derelict by divers evil-doers; and often before these times, as well by night and by day, had been broken and robbed, the reliques, ornaments, and treasures of the same taken and carried away, and the ministers of the said chapel beaten, wounded, and evilly treated." The seal of the College, which is figured both in maps, and as an illustration to Mr. Turner's paper referred to at the commencement of this essay, bears the date 22 Edward III, that is A.D. 1349; and it was, I should conjecture, during the early part of this king's reign, that the building was removed from its ancient site to the old castle on the cliff. If this were the case, I imagine that the destruction of the ancient church may have been completed by the French in the invasion to which I have referred above, *i.e.*, a century later than the date assigned by Mr. Durrant Cooper in his excellent dissertation upon Hastings Rape, Castle, and town, in the second volume of the *Archæological Collections*, as the commencement of the decay of the military portion of the Castle. He justly observes that, "in Richard II, when the French burnt a portion of the town and church, the Castle was useless as a protection"; and he adds "that the fifth, sixth, and seventh earls of Eu resided for a long time at their Château d'Eu, and founded many monastic establishments in Normandy; and it is most probable that Hastings Castle was neglected, or fell into decay, in the latter half of the twelfth century or the commencement of the thirteenth." It has been already pointed out that the architecture of the chancel-arch indicates a date somewhat anterior to that which I have assigned; still the statements contained in the documents to which I have referred, seem to me so precise and positive, that if the arch still standing (I

mean, of course, that portion of it which is original) is of the very commencement of the fourteenth century, it must be part of the work which belonged to the older church, and have been removed to its present position at the granting of the charter, 5th Edward III.

About five and twenty years after the invasion of the French, the church began to be neglected, for Mr. Turner tells us that in the 7th Henry IV (1408), the commissioners sent down to examine into the state of the building, etc., reported that its rents, profits, and other emoluments, even though liberally aided by the offerings of the faithful, had become insufficient for its reparation and support,—a statement which fully proves that at this time the fabric was in a dilapidated state, and stood in sore need of repair. It seems that the church, or “Royal Free Chapel,” as it was also called, on account of its claim to be independent of episcopal and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, save that which was prescribed in its original foundation charter, maintained a struggle for existence for some years; for we hear of “its continually decreasing revenues,” and that it was involved in the quarrels and collisions which so constantly took place at this period between the crown and the ecclesiastical authorities with regard to their respective rights over free chapels. At length, in 1480, it was arranged that the chapel and canons should be under the same ecclesiastical jurisdiction and visitation as the other clerical establishments of the diocese; and various points as to their patronage were settled in a manner satisfactory both to the royal and episcopal disputants.

The time at which St. Mary's became a parish church is another matter upon which some doubt has arisen. It may, I think, perhaps be referred to about the period just mentioned; for we know that soon after 1480 the deanery of the college was endowed with one prebend; that the dean had a residence, lands, certain money payments, and allowances granted to him, and also “the advowson of the vicarage of St. Mary in the Castle,” which, as Mr. Turner observes, “was then called *in* the Castle, but which must surely mean within its precincts.” In confirmation of this he quotes a grant of the rectory in 1549, in which the church is styled St. Mary “*prope Castrum de Hastings*,” and adds, “of which (*i.e.*, the old collegiate church actually in the Castle) the

present church of St. Mary is the substitute, for no traces are to be found of a second church *in* (that is, *within*) the Castle buildings, and to which a parochial district was attached." In the 30th Henry VIII (1538) all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, with their lands, tenements, and hereditaments, were, as we know, seized by the crown; and Sir Anthony Brown, K.G., who was standard-bearer to the king, was presented by his royal master with the site of, and all the rights appertaining to, the free chapel of St. Mary in the Castle. In 1721 these were conveyed by Sir Anthony Brown's descendant (Anthony, sixth Viscount Montagu) to Sir Thomas Webster; and their subsequent history is so well known, that there is no need of my recapitulating it here.

The parish of St. Mary in the Castle was without any place of public worship from the dissolution until the year 1825, when the present church was erected by Thomas Pelham, second Earl of Chichester, a worthy ancestor of the noble President of this Hastings Congress, and was consecrated in 1828 by Dr. Carr, bishop of the diocese, and afterwards of Worcester. It is still called St. Mary's in the Castle; and when we ourselves, and the buildings by which we are surrounded, shall become subjects of discussion for archæological societies, antiquaries will haply be very much puzzled to decide why the modern edifice rejoices in its title, and will be employed in tracing a connexion between structures which have no more to do with each other, either locally or architecturally, than Tenterden Church steeple has to do with the Goodwin Sands.

In conclusion, I have only once more to add, that I have purposely abstained from entering into any of the well-ascertained and authenticated events connected with St. Mary's in the Castle, as they have all been so admirably collected and set forth by Mr. Durrant Cooper, Mr. Turner, and other members of the well-known Archæological Society which has done such valuable service in elucidating the history and antiquities of this county; and the title of my paper may, therefore, be regarded, perhaps, as somewhat of a misnomer; but the few suggestions which I have made, and the arguments I have advanced, are put forward with all due deference to the greater knowledge possessed by the gentlemen whom I have named, as well as by some of their

colleagues, when compared with the limited light which I have been able to throw upon the subject. I hope, should I have committed any error, no one of them will be afraid to act as a "*plagosus Orbilius*," and to give me a hearty rap over the knuckles if I deserve it.

ON THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

It is now some fifteen or sixteen years since the library committee of the Society of Antiquaries paid me the compliment of requesting me to write a notice of the Bayeux tapestry, to accompany the engravings of it, from the accurate drawings of Mr. Alfred Stothard, published as early as 1819, in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. In reply, I begged it might be distinctly understood that, with every wish to assist the Council, or oblige the Society, by any means in my humble power, I could not undertake the serious task of writing such a critical history of this important relic as I felt ought to be issued by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The time requisite for the researches was not at my disposal; and to make a mere *résumé* of all the controversy that has appeared, or a digest of all the conflicting speculations that have been published, on the subject, would have occupied more than I could conveniently spare, and tended, perhaps, to bewilder rather than inform the reader.

That excellent antiquary, Monsieur Frederick Pluquet, was so strongly of this opinion, that he prefaces his valuable evidences concerning the tapestry in his *Essai Historique sur la Ville de Bayeux* with these words:—"So many descriptions of this monument have been published, so much has its origin been discussed, that I shall take great care not to involve myself too deeply in these interminable arguments. I shall follow in this chapter the plan which regulates all the rest of this work,—that of not repeating what others have said, and of publishing only what others have been ignorant of, or forgotten, or neglected." Such is the plan I propose to follow in my notice of the tapestry,

as far as it is possible, considering that on the occasion of the delivery of this paper at the Hastings Congress I addressed a general audience, and that for many of my readers a particular description of the subject may not be conveniently at hand. For the latter, therefore, it may be necessary to state, that the curious relic popularly called the Bayeux tapestry is a roll of linen (formerly preserved in the Cathedral of Bayeux, in Normandy, and now in the town library of that city), measuring 19 inches in breadth, and about 211 feet in length, on which is worked, in coloured wools, the representations of a series of events immediately preceding the death of Edward the Confessor, and terminating with the accession of Harold, the invasion of England, and the decisive battle of Senlac or Hastings; possessing, therefore, a strong local interest for the inhabitants of Hastings and of Sussex, which I trust will atone for the unavoidable dryness of an antiquarian dissertation.

For the reason above stated, I shall also recapitulate the evidence collected by M. Pluquet in the admirable essay to which I have recently alluded, respecting the origin of the tapestry,—one of the principal bones of contention amongst antiquaries, and the cause of a quantity of *ink-shed* which it is perfectly alarming to contemplate.

After briefly stating his confidence in the antiquity of the tapestry, as contemporary with many of the personages represented in it, though neither the work of the first nor the second Matilda,¹ but executed by order of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, uterine brother of the Conqueror (who alone had the power to deposit and display the representation of a subject from profane history in a sacred edifice), M. Pluquet proceeds to answer the principal objections that have been urged against such an opinion, in the following brief but conclusive manner:—

Objection 1.—The silence of historians, particularly of Wace (author of a metrical history of the dukes of Normandy and the Conquest of England).

Answer.—It was not the custom amongst the historians of the Middle Ages to quote monumental evidence of any

¹ Mr. Hume attributed it to the third, the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I; and the Abbé de la Rue, being perfectly ignorant of costume, supports this opinion, and most authoritatively states the tapestry to have been unfinished in 1167, the date of the Empress Matilda's death! (*Arch.*, vol. xvii, p. 105.

description. "Comme dit l'histoire," "Comme on lit," "Comme on trouve écrit," "Comme dit eil (celui) de Jumièges." Such are the only authorities of our ancient chroniclers.

Objection 2.—Subjects appear in the border of the tapestry taken from the Fables of Æsop or Phædrus, and those works were not known at that period.²

Answer.—This is an error. They were well known long previously. Freculphus, Bishop of Lisieux, who lived in the eleventh century, says that Edward the Confessor caused the Fables of Æsop to be translated. Ingulphus informs us that Alfred had translated them from the Greek into Saxon in the ninth century.

Objection 3.—The word *Franci* is found on the tapestry, and the Normans never called themselves Frenchmen (Français).

Answer.—Wace, who was a Norman, calls the Normans "Français" in many passages of his works, and particularly when speaking of the battle of Hastings.

Objection 4.—Bayeux was burned by Henry I in 1106, and that conflagration must inevitably have destroyed the tapestry.

Answer.—Wace says positively that the treasures were carried out of the cathedral before it was burned.

"Tote fu l'Eglise destruite,
E les richesses fors conduite."

(*Roman du Rou.*)

Objection 5.—The inventory of the treasures ("*effets précieux*") of William the Conqueror, taken in 1087, makes no mention of the tapestry.

Answer.—The tapestry did not belong to William, and had no right to be entered in an inventory of his property.

What can be clearer or more satisfactory than these refutations of unfounded assertions? And how grateful should we feel to M. Pluquet for wading through that mass of misapplied erudition and illogical deduction, and so quietly and concisely disposing of it. I should almost apologise for adding one word to his commentary; but the line *E les richesses fors conduite*, has been quoted by the Abbé de la Rue, and interpreted by him in the sense of

plunder. Even in that sense it does not necessarily imply destruction. The very absence of intrinsic value would go far to insure its safety. The Abbé asks who would care to rescue a piece of needlework? I ask, where would be the temptation to destroy it? Again, much stress has been laid on the silence of Wace, who, as a prebend of Bayeux, it is contended, *must* have seen the tapestry, had it existed in the cathedral in his time; but independently of the satisfactory reason given by M. Pluquet, there is no *must* in the case. Wace, who died in 1184, was born in Jersey, and educated at Caen, where he wrote his *Roman du Rou*, in 1160. He never could have seen the old cathedral out of which the treasures were taken in 1106, and who can say when the tapestry, if a portion of them, found its way back to the new edifice, rebuilt, or rather restored, for it was not entirely destroyed, by Philip de Harcourt in 1159. Nor can the silence or ignorance of Wace on this subject, who had finished his poem in 1160, be much wondered at, when we find M. Ducarel, in 1767, telling us that the clergy of the cathedral, to whom he applied for permission to inspect this remarkable relic, knew nothing about it? It was only by explaining to them that the tapestry he desired to see was annually exhibited to the public on certain days, that they comprehended his request; and even then seemed not to be aware that it had any reference to William the Conqueror, whom they simply designated Duke William. Wace expressly tells us that he wrote the account of the Conquest from the information of his own father, and had he even had an opportunity of seeing the tapestry, which does not appear probable, would no more have thought of quoting it as an authority than a writer of the present day, describing the battle of Waterloo from the information of eye-witnesses, would think of supporting such evidence by Jones's celebrated picture, or Burford's capital panorama, supposing the latter were still in existence. Besides, his poem was finished five years before King Henry II, his patron, sent him to Bayeux; for as the records of the cathedral tell us he enjoyed his prebend nineteen years, it follows that if he died in 1184, he could not have been appointed before 1165.

I will now state the few facts of which we are at present in possession relative to the history of the tapestry itself. The

earliest mention yet found of it occurs in an inventory of the jewels, ornaments, books, etc., belonging to the church of Notre Dame de Bayeux, and at that time found in it, taken by Guillaume de Castillon, Archdeacon of the Vez, and Nichole Michiel, *fabriquier*, canons of that church, in the month of September, 1476. In the third chapter of this valuable document, two magnificent mantles are described as having been those, according to tradition (*comme l'on dit*), worn by Duke William and his duchess at their marriage, a circumstance important to our present subject, as supporting the assertion of Wace, that the valuable property belonging to the cathedral in the eleventh century was *not* destroyed with the building in 1106; and in the fifth chapter, containing an account of the cloths, tapestries, curtains, etc., for the decoration of the church on solemn occasions, we find, “Item, *une tente tres longue et estrait de telle (toile) à broderie de ymages et escripteaulx, faisant representation du conquest d’Angleterre laquelle est tendue environ le nef de l’Eglise le jour et par les octaves de reliques.*” It is remarkable, in corroboration of M. Pluquet’s opinion, that the tapestry was not the property of William, and had never belonged to him; that whilst the two mantles are traditionally assigned to him and his duchess, the tapestry is associated with neither of their names as donors or previous proprietors. Its popular appellation, *la toilette du Duc Guillaume*, with the additional tradition that it was the work of his wife Matilda, does not appear to have been known to the canons of Bayeux in 1476 any more than to their successors in 1767; but the name it would naturally receive from its subject, as it was called *la toile de St. Jean*, from its exhibition on the festival of that saint. The report mentioned by Montfaucon that it was the work of Queen Matilda and her handmaids, originated probably in the suggestion of some antiquary of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, repeated till it assumed the consistency of a fact. Should it eventually prove to be one, it would not at all invalidate the idea of M. Pluquet that it was placed in the church by Bishop Odo, for whom, and by whose desire, it might have been executed by his royal sister-in-law. M. Jubinal has, indeed, been hardy enough to suggest the name of the principal sempstress employed upon it (*Moyen Age et Renaissance—Tapisserie*).

That the treasures were not destroyed or stolen at the time of the fire we have abundant proofs; for, independently of the existence in 1476 of the two mantles traditionally assigned to William and his duchess, M. Ducarel in 1767 speaks of a curious ivory casket, with a silver-gilt lock, of oriental workmanship, part of the spoils taken from the Saracens by Charles Martel at the battle of Tours: the chasuble of St. Regnobert, presented to the cathedral by Ermentrude, wife of Charles the Bald, and two unicorns of massive silver, one fifteen feet and the other nine feet long, the gifts of William the Conqueror and his brother Odo, and which the Dean and Chapter of Bayeux offered to Francis I in 1531. The king nobly declined accepting them, saying that as they had been preserved there since the time of King William, they ought to remain under the same guardianship. During the troubles of 1562, these valuable figures were confided to the care of the Duke de Bouillon, governor of Normandy, who never returned them, and they have since disappeared entirely.

Having now told you all that is really known about the tapestry, I will proceed to describe the various subjects represented on it in the order they occur, appending the few remarks I shall presume to make upon them as they arise. First, then, we perceive Edward the Confessor seated on his throne, conversing with two persons, supposed to be Harold and an attendant receiving Edward's instructions to go to Normandy, or, according to other writers, requesting to make the voyage contrary to the advice of Edward.

A great deal of useless discussion will be found on this point in the earlier writers on the subject. There is nothing indicated in the tapestry beyond the fact of an interview. Whether Edward be issuing an order or granting a request must be left entirely to the imagination. We next see Harold with his attendants riding to Bosham.

Harold, with a hawk on his wrist, the mark of high nobility, is here depicted with moustaches. In the former group the figure supposed to represent him has none; but they are worn by the person beside him. Bosham, I need scarcely inform Sussex readers, is now only a small village on the coast of this county; but in the eleventh century was a well-frequented port, where Harold took

shipping. It was royal property in the time of the Confessor.

This subject is followed by a church, no doubt that of Bosham. Two persons are seen entering the church, or it may be praying at the entrance. Adjoining the church is a building, in the upper story of which five men are seen drinking: a sixth stands at the stair head: and a seventh is descending the stairs with an oar in his hand, following others carrying dogs and birds through the water to a boat.

Two vessels are next seen, crowded with warriors and mariners; and the inscription informs us that Harold crossed the sea and came full sail into the territory of Count Wido. Harold's vessels were driven by contrary winds into the mouth of the Somme, and he was therefore compelled to land on the territory of Wido, or Guy, Count de Ponthieu.

Inscription 5 is simply "Harold"; and he is next represented landing from a boat at anchor, and immediately afterwards arrested by the count.

"It was the custom," observes M. Thierry, in his *Histoire de la Conquête*, "of this maritime country, as of many others in the Middle Ages, that all strangers thrown upon the coast by a tempest, in lieu of being humanely assisted, should be imprisoned and held for ransom."—(Book 3.) He is then conducted as a prisoner to Belrem (Beauraine le Château, two leagues from Montreuil), where he is subsequently depicted parleying with Wido.

M. Lancelot suggests this conference is respecting Harold's ransom. I am sure it is not worth while to dispute so probable a conjecture; but what is the value of it? The count and his prisoner are apparently in conversation. That is all we can really gather from the tapestry.

This is followed by the inscription; underneath which, and over the head of a bearded dwarf who is holding the horses of the envoys, is worked "Turolde". This is evidently a proper name, and has been by common consent appropriated to the dwarf. The authors of *Les Recherches sur le Domesday* observe that "the name of Turolde was so common in the two countries of France and England at this period (temp. W.C.) that it is difficult at present to identify the family of this tenant. Aluredus (nepos Turolldi) grandson or nephew of Turolde, held in Lincolnshire at the time

of the Survey the same lands he held during the reign of Edward the Confessor. A Turolde was sheriff of Lincolnshire after the Conquest, and founder of Spalding Abbey. His niece and heiress is said to have been Countess of Chester, and also to have married Ivo Taillebois, the Conqueror's nephew. A Gilbert Fitz-Turolde, apparently a feudatory of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, held Watelage at the time of the Survey, which had been previously held by Earl Harold. An Albert and a Richard Fitz-Turolde are also mentioned in Domesday. William the Conqueror's governor, or tutor, was named Turolde,—*Turoldeus teneri Ducis pedagogus*; but he was killed shortly after William became Duke of Normandy. Miss Agnes Strickland's assertion that Turolde was an artist, who designed the tapestry, is unsupported by any evidence. The figure holding the horses is certainly a singular-looking personage, and may have been a celebrated character of that day,—the Count of Ponthieu's dwarf, perhaps: for we know it was the custom of men of high rank to have such in their household. Be this, however, as it may, the introduction of the name without further explanation is one of the best proofs of the contemporaneous execution of the tapestry.

This is succeeded by a second embassy, the first having failed. Count Guy, we are told, was deaf to both the threats and the blandishments of the duke, and yielded only to a large sum of money, and a fine domain on the river Eaune.¹

“Tant promis au comte et offri
Tant manacha et blandi
Que Guy, Heralt au duc rendi.”

(*Roman du Rou.*)

We are then shown the envoy of Count Guy in the presence of Duke William. The figure of the envoy is very diminutive and apparently deformed; and it was therefore suggested by Montfaucon that it represented the same dwarf Turolde whom we have just seen holding the horses of William's ambassadors. M. l'Echaude d'Anisy, after a careful inspection of the tapestry itself, inclined to the same opinion, in opposition to Ducarel. But the name of Turolde is not repeated, and it is useless to recapitulate arguments which are unsupported by facts, and amount simply to a

¹ *Chronique de Normandie.* Thierry's *Histoire de la Conquête.*



conflict of speculations. If we could draw any inference from the attitude of personages so rudely represented, we might certainly presume that the envoy was approaching the duke with great reverence and some alarm, and that the actions of one of the men-at-arms in attendance, who appears to be placing his hand on the head of the envoy, indicates a familiarity only to be accounted for by the peculiar character of the individual subjected to it. William was no doubt angry at the delay of Guy to deliver up his captive, and at the little effect of his threats, until accompanied by bribes; and the count might have selected an ambassador who was likely to divert the duke and allay his irritation. No hint of this, however, has been yet discovered, and we only find "Wido conducting Harold to William, duke of the Normans"; the tapestry thus corroborating the account of Guillaume de Poitiers, William of Malmesbury, and Matthew Paris, who state that the Count of Ponthieu delivered Harold in person to William, and did not merely send him under a guard, as is asserted by Eadmer, Roger of Hoveden, and others.

Harold is next seen accompanying the Duke of Normandy to his palace, again in accordance with Guillaume de Poitiers, who states that William conducted Harold to Rouen, the chief city of his dominions—*In urbem sui principatus caput Rothomagum introduxit*. This subject is immediately followed by the palace, in which William is seen seated in state, and Harold speaking to him with considerable action. There is no inscription over this group, and the subject of the conversation must, as in the former instances, be left to the imagination.

We now come to inscription 14.—*Ubi unus clericus et Aelfgyva*—"Where a priest and Aelfgyva." This is one of the mysteries of the tapestry which has yet to be explained. Mr. Gurney says, "a woman, *certainly* Adeliza", William's daughter, promised to Harold,—a devotee whose knees are said to have become horny from incessant genuflexion in prayer, and who died afterwards affianced against her will to Alfonso of Spain. Why "*certainly*" Adeliza I do not perceive. M. H. F. Delaunay asserts as positively that it is Adela, another daughter of the Conqueror, who was promised to Harold, and afterwards married Stephen, Earl of Blois. Indeed no two historians

seem agreed as to the particular daughter so promised: and none of William's daughters could at that period have attained the age of the woman represented as *Ælfgyva*. Besides, a scandal is implied, in my opinion, by this representation, which would have been a justification of Harold's refusal, and therefore not likely to have been introduced in this tapestry. Mr. Amyot has discussed this subject fully in his paper (*Archæologia*, vol. xix, pp. 199-202), but does not appear to have suspected the imputation on the fame of the lady, which appears to me to be conveyed, not only by the *unfinished* inscription, "Where a priest and *Ælfgyva*——", but also by the character of the figures in the border of this compartment; the only other instance of grossness occurring in the same border, under what may be considered the commencement of this part of the story—the Deliverance of Harold to William. I have no wish to encumber this paper with theories of my own without something like facts to support them; I shall therefore limit my remarks on this obscure subject to facts. 1. Nothing has yet been detected in the contemporary chroniclers which throws light on the circumstance here intended to be represented, but which was doubtlessly as well understood at the time as the allusions to *Turolf* and others still to be noticed. 2. The names given to William's mysterious daughter are *Adela*, *Adeliza*, *Agatha*, and even *Matilda*; but it does not appear she was ever called *Ælfgyva*, which is a purely Saxon appellation, signifying literally, "the gift of the Fairies", or "Fairy Gift", and usually appropriated by them to royal personages. It is very improbable that even a Saxon embroiderer would have applied this title to one of William's daughters; besides which, Mr. Amyot has shown that "the history and even name of this injured princess are left in inextricable confusion". (*Archæolog.*, vol. xix, p. 200.) It is still more improbable that, if really intended to represent a young, chaste, and pious child, of eleven or twelve years old, the greatest age she could have attained at that period, her portrait should be desecrated by the association of gross caricatures, and her character hinted away by a purposely incomplete inscription. This latter fact has been entirely overlooked by every writer I have seen on the subject, and by some the inscription has been incorrectly copied. *Launcelot* gives it *Ubi clericus*

et Ælfgyva, omitting the word *unus*, and M. Delaunay writes, *Unus clericus et Ælfgyva*, omitting the more important word *ubi*, without which the inscription, though still obscure, would be complete, as (you will observe) are all the others throughout the tapestry. But we have here *Ubi unus clericus et Ælfgyva*—"Where a clerk, or priest, and Ælfgyva"; or, indeed, we may read it, "Where a certain clerk and Ælfgyva", the word *unus* allowing of such a particularisation. How can we doubt that the design of the embroiderer was to recall some scandal so generally known at that period as to render any plainer allusion to it perfectly unnecessary? Now, there were only two contemporary personages popularly designated as Ælfgyva, respecting whom I can find a scandal was in circulation. One was Emma Ælfgyva, sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy, the queen first of Ethelred, King of England, and, secondly, of Canute the Great, and mother by the former sovereign of Edward the Confessor. According to some historians, she was accused by Godwin, Earl of Kent, and Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, of being accessory to the murder of her son Alfred, and also (which is more to our purpose) of a disgraceful intimacy with Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester.—(Knyghton, Brompton, Higden.) Her walking over red-hot ploughshares in order to prove her innocence, is a popular tradition, which has been known to us all from childhood. The other Ælfgyva is not so notorious, nor was she of royal birth. She was the rival of Emma Ælfgyva, being the mistress of Canute, and is distinguished from her by being called Ælfgyva of Northampton. She was the daughter of the Ealdorman Aldhelm, and the noble Lady Wulfruna; and we are told by Florence of Worcester, and other historians, that she caused the new-born child of a certain priest to be brought to her, and induced the king to believe that she had borne him a son. This child was Sweyn, to whom King Canute gave the kingdom of Norway. The chronicler goes on to say, "Harold" (*i.e.*, Harold, surnamed Harefoot) "also said he was the son of King Canute, by Ælfgyva of Northampton, although that is far from certain, for some say that he was the son of a cobbler, and that Ælfgyva had acted with regard to him as she had done in the case of Sweyn".—(Florence of Worcester, *sub anno* 1035.) I do not attempt to propound any theory, or

draw any inference from these circumstances. I only point out that the unscrupulous mother of Edward the Confessor, and the wily mistress of her second husband, were both called Elfgiva, and that both were suspected of conduct which might be darkly hinted at in the inscription,—“Where a certain priest and Elfgiva”. At the same time I honestly confess I do not see what connexion the peccadilloes of either have with the adventures of Harold, the son of Godwin.

The four next subjects, depicting the expedition against Conan, Count of Brittany, in which Harold assisted William, are highly interesting from the fact that they represent events unmentioned by any of the historians, and in one instance (that of Guillaume de Poitiers) positively contradict the chronicler, who states that William's forces never proceeded beyond Dol, and retired without striking a blow, having waited in vain for Conan, who continued retreating in lieu of opposing them. According to the tapestry, William pursued him to Rennes, and afterwards to Dinan, where the Count ultimately capitulated, and surrendered the city with the usual formality of the delivery of the keys. He is holding them out at the end of a lance to a knight on horseback, who is receiving them on the point of his own weapon,—a curious illustration of the manners of the period. It may, however, be Rennes he is surrendering, and not Dinan, as generally believed, as the inscription does not designate another city, but simply informs us that “here the duke's soldiers fought against those of Dinan—*contra Dinantes*”. Forces from Dinan might have marched to the rescue of the capital, and on their defeat Conan would be compelled to surrender. Everything is in favour of the tapestry. The details are too circumstantial to be the imagination of the embroiderer; and the next Inscription, 22, *Hic dedit arma Willelm Haroldo*—“Here William gave arms to Harold”, seems to corroborate Ordericus Vitalis, who tells us that William rewarded Harold's exertions with presents of splendid arms, horses, etc.; in contradiction to Wace, who, in the *Roman de Rou*, lays the scene of the presentation of arms at Avranches, when William was on his march to Brittany, and, of course, before Harold had exerted himself at all.

We next find William returning with Harold to Bayeux,

and are told, "Here Harold made oath to Duke William"; the said oath being to recognise the duke's right of succession to the throne of England on the death of King Edward. Harold is seen standing between and placing his hands on two shrines or reliquaries. After he had sworn, William is reported to have uncovered the shrines and alarmed Harold by the number and importance of the relics contained in them. William of Poitiers and Ordericus Vitalis place this incident previous to the expedition into Brittany.

The tapestry then represents Harold returning to England, and recounting to King Edward his adventures, or reporting the result of his mission.

Everybody has noticed, of course, the singular transposition of the two following subjects in this part of the tapestry. The funeral of Edward is made to precede his death, for we read in

Inscription 27.—*Hic Edwardus Rex in lecto alloquit Fideles*—"Here King Edward, in bed, addresses his friends." The king is supported by one attendant, who sits behind his pillow. At his bedside are two persons, supposed to be Harold and Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury; a third, at the foot of the bed, is a female, naturally imagined to be the queen. This is supposed to be important as corroborating the assertion of the Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and Roger de Hoveden, that Edward on his deathbed declared Harold his successor; while others assert that he confirmed his previous bequest of the crown to Duke William. I protest, as before, against any inference being drawn from such a representation. The king's hand is extended towards Harold (if Harold it be), to whom he may be simply bidding farewell, or whom he may be enjoining to respect his oath to William. Each party may form its own conclusions; but I contend that there is nothing in the action which can positively be affirmed to settle this disputed point of history.

The death and funeral of King Edward is followed of course by the election of Harold. "Here", says the inscription, "they give the crown to King Harold". M. l'Anisy and Mr. Sharon Turner observe upon this, that although the tapestry evidently tells the story in the Norman way, and in favour of William, there is no indication here of Harold's seizure of the crown by violence, as intimated by

Malmsbury, Rudborne, and Ordericus Vitalis. We next read—"Here sits Harold, King of the English. Stigand Archbishop." Harold is seated on the throne, holding a sceptre in his right hand, and a globe surmounted by a cross in his left. On his left is Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who is said to have crowned him in defiance of the Pope's interdiction. The tapestry, therefore, appears to corroborate this statement, and refute the majority of English writers, who assert that he was crowned by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

Inscription 31.—*Isti mirant. stella*—"They marvel at the star." This star is a comet, the appearance of which is mentioned by Guillaume de Jumièges, Matthew of Westminster, and the MS. Chronicles, Tiberius, B. 1, and B. 4, Brit. Mus., and was regarded by the English as a sign of impending great tribulation. At the time of the projected invasion of England by Napoleon I, a comet made its appearance; and the Emperor, who had caused the tapestry to be brought to Paris for his examination, is said to have contemplated the one depicted in it with considerable interest.

Inscription 31.—"Harold." Harold is seated on his throne listening to a man who appears to have brought him some important information, as the king's attitude is one of great attention. It has been suggested with some probability that the intelligence communicated by the messenger is that of the landing of Tostig and the Norwegians. Others consider it to represent the ambassador William sent to Harold to expostulate with him on the seizure of the crown; but in this case it should follow the next subject. And here, again, it is a mere matter of opinion—either may be right, both may be wrong.

Inscription 32.—*Hic navis Anglica venit in terram Willelmi Ducis*—"Here an English ship came into the dominions of Duke William"; bringing the news of Harold's accession; for this is immediately followed by

Inscription 33.—*Hic Willelm' Dux jressit naves edificari*—"Here Duke William commanded ships to be built." William, seated in his palace, is in conversation with a personage, who, from his tonsure, is evidently the duke's uterine brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and not his other brother Robert, Count of Mortain, suggested by Lancelot.

A man is in attendance with a hatchet in his hand ; and this group is followed by the representation of a forest, and men hewing down trees, shaping planks, and building vessels.

We then see the ships dragged down to the beach, and laden with arms and provisions. Soldiers are represented bearing hauberks on a pole thrust through the sleeves, the most convenient mode of carrying such body armour, the weight of which must have been considerable. The wagon laden with wine is ingeniously made to carry lances and helmets.

The scene is again shifted to this country, and we approach the great event which the lapse of eight hundred years has not deprived of interest. Seventeen or eighteen vessels are, more or less, perfectly depicted in the tapestry. The great ship, on board of which we are to suppose William, has the banner of the cross surmounting the mast, presumed by M. Lancelot to represent that which was sent to the duke by Pope Alexander I. At the back or prow of the galley is the head of a lion, and at the stern is the figure of a boy, holding in one hand a banner, and in the other a trumpet, which he is in the act of sounding. This does not agree with the description of Wace, who tells us the figure-head of the duke's vessel was a boy armed with a bow and arrow, which he appeared about to shoot in the direction of England ; but an ancient MS. tells us that Matilda caused a ship to be built for her husband, at the head of which was the figure of a boy in gold, with a trumpet in his hand ; an assertion curiously borne out by the tapestry, with the unimportant difference that the figure is placed at the stern instead of the head of the vessel.

They arrive at Pevensey, and we see them landing the horses from the ships, and then foraging parties riding towards Hastings to seize provisions.

This subject is immediately followed by the figure of a warrior on horseback, with the long Norman kite-shaped shield, and holding a baton in his right hand, over whom are the words, *Hic est Wadardus*—"Here is Wadard". He appears to be giving orders to a man with an axe on his shoulder, who is leading a horse. This is one of the inscriptions which clearly proves the contemporary character of

the tapestry, as this must have been some personage so well known at that period that no further description of him was necessary. Sir Henry Ellis was, I believe, the first person to point out, in his *Introduction to Domesday*, that a person named Wadard was an under-tenant of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (Earl of Kent after the Conquest), and held very large possessions in six counties, viz., Kent, Surrey, Wilts, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, and Lincolnshire. Mr. Hudson Gurney presumes he was William's Dapifer, through whom alone he could receive or make communications in his parleys with the English; but in that case I think we should have found him so named elsewhere. We know of two of William's Dapifers,—William Fitz-Osbern, *Dapifero*, who furnished him with sixty vessels, and Gerold *Dapifero*, who contributed forty. Mr. Amyot considered him to be a follower of Odo, by whom he appears to have been subsequently rewarded for his services. A third belief is that he was a Norman, resident near Hastings at the time of the invasion, and who assisted his countrymen on their arrival, which would account for his sudden introduction at this point into the tapestry. William of Poitiers informs us that a noble Norman, whom he calls Robert, the son of Guimara, a lady of high birth, and who was established on this coast, fearing that the duke, his natural sovereign, had undertaken a rash enterprise, sent a messenger to inform him of his danger and the strength and resources of Harold. That messenger might be Wadard; but the baton in the hand of the figure indicates command, and I incline to the belief of Mr. Amyot, that he was one of Bishop Odo's officers, who distinguished himself in this expedition, although no record of the precise services for which he was so handsomely rewarded has descended to us. The establishment of this great prelate was celebrated for its regal magnificence, and comprised a number of officers and attendants exceeding even those of the duke himself. An "Alured Dapifer" occurs in *Domesday* as holding many lands in the county of Kent, and is supposed by the author of *Les Recherches* to have held that office in the bishop's household.

Cooks are next seen dressing meat, and a banquet follows, where the chiefs are dining in truly warlike fashion, making tables of their shields. Bishop Odo is depicted saying grace at the ducal table, which is served



in state, an attendant kneeling with a napkin. Bishop Odo is on the left of William, and a very aged long-bearded personage on his right (the seat of honour), who is in the act of drinking, and leans with his left hand on the table most unceremoniously in front of the duke. This should surely indicate some very important personage, a Saxon, I presume, from his beard; but the chronicles afford us no clue to him, and I have met with no speculation concerning him. Dr. Bruce says, vaguely, probably William's Nestor; but who was his Nestor he does not inform us. Under the inscription [43], *Odo Eps, Willelm. Rotbert*, we see the three sons of Harleve, the Duke of Normandy, Bishop Odo, and Robert Count of Mortain, seated apparently in council.

[Inscription 44] *Iste jussit foderetur castellum at Hastings* — "He ordered a fort should be entrenched at Hastings." The English word "at" is here used in lieu of the Latin "ad", one of the proofs adduced of the Saxon workmanship of the tapestry, which I shall offer some remarks upon presently. Two of the workmen are represented fighting with clubs. Whether commemorating any particular quarrel or disturbance we have no means of deciding.

[Inscription 45] *Ceastra*, for *Castra*; another Saxon word for the camp, or one of the wooden castles erected at Hastings by William. The news is now brought to William of the approach of Harold's forces, and the next subject is the firing of a house by some soldiery. The inhabitants, a woman and a boy, are seen escaping. It seems to be the general opinion that this is not to be taken as a simple indication of the horrors of war, but the record of a particular fact that occurred at the time. The house is represented as one of some consequence; and as William strictly forbade plunder, I presume this to have been the act of Harold's soldiers in revenge on some person of importance, who had declared for, or was suspected of favouring the invader. An imaginative antiquary might point to the female and the boy as the wife and son of the man who was already in the camp of William.

The invading forces are now seen issuing from Hastings to give battle to the English. Duke William is on horseback at the head of his knights, and is armed with a club.

Two banners or standards are borne behind him ; one, the banner with the cross which has been already frequently seen in the tapestry ; the other a semicircular flag, with an indented border, and charged with a bird of some description. Sir Samuel Meyrick considered it to represent “the Raefan”, the celebrated raven ensign of the Danes, which their descendants might still be supposed to venerate and display on such an occasion.

The duke is next represented interrogating a warrior, who is named Vital, respecting the army of Harold. We have here a third person, who has not yet been positively identified. No mention of him occurs in the chronicles of the period ; but, as in the case of Wadard and Turolf, we find in the Domesday Survey a Vital or Vitalis holding lands under Bishop Odo, and cannot doubt his having been an equally well known personage at the time the tapestry was worked.

The tapestry next exhibits Harold receiving in his turn information respecting the army of Duke William.

The circumstance of Harold’s spies returning with an account of William’s army, and representing it as composed of priests, in consequence of the shaven and shorn appearance of the Normans, *tout rez et tondu*, is well known to every reader of English history ; but the tapestry furnishes us with a most curious illustration of the peculiarity which evidently gave rise to the remark, the Normans being thereon represented not only without beards or moustaches, but having the backs of their heads shaven in a most extraordinary fashion, which seems to be alluded to by the old chronicler Glaber Rodolphus, who, describing the followers of Constance of Poitou, queen of Robert, King of France, in 997, says that their manners and dress were equally fantastic ; “that they were bare from the middle of their heads”, their beards shaven like minstrels, etc. Mr. Alfred Stothard, in his account of the tapestry (*Archæologia*, vol. xix), pointed out this singularity as a most important proof of the age and authenticity of the work, but was not aware of the corroborative testimony of a contemporary historian.

The Duke of Normandy is next seen haranguing his soldiers, and this subject is followed by the onslaught, over which there is no inscription ; but much has been said of

the representation in the tapestry of Taillefer, the Norman jongleur, throwing up his sword in the air, according to the description of Gaimar. Mr. Stothard quietly ended the controversy by pointing out the fact that the weapon in the air is a mace and not a sword, and that there is no figure which can be supposed to represent Taillefer. I have only, therefore, to remark, in addition, that the mace, as well as a javelin above it, is flying towards the Normans, and therefore has been hurled by a Saxon and not a Norman hand.

To this succeeds the death of Lewin and Gurth, brothers to King Harold. Ordericus Vitalis tells us they were not slain till after Harold had fallen; but the tapestry is, I think, a better authority on this point.

The next inscription informs us: "Here fell together English and French in Battle." This portion of the tapestry has been supposed by Lancelot and Sharon Turner to indicate that particular event in the battle when, deceived by a feigned retreat of the Normans, the Saxons were thrown into disorder, and the Normans themselves coming suddenly upon a great ditch, concealed by vegetation (and afterwards called, from the accident, "Malfosse"), perished in great numbers, dragging the Saxons also into the ruin.

Bishop Odo in complete armour is then seen on horse-back, bearing, like other leaders, a club, with which, the inscription tells us, "he encouraged the youths"; i.e., the young soldiers or raw levies. Wace makes particular mention of this fact:—

"Seated on a white horse,
He was known by every one,
Holding in his hand a baton;
Wherever he saw great need,
He made the knights turn,
And stay the tide of battle."

Whether by exhortation or the actual use of the *argumentum baculinum*, we have no distinct information. Next follows the inscription, "Here is Duke William", almost the actual exclamation of the Norman leader, who, finding his ranks waver under the impression that he was slain, rushed amongst them, and throwing back his helmet, cried, "Behold me! I live". William is here depicted in the act of raising his helmet by the nasal and discovering his face.

Over a warrior beside the duke is the nearly obliterated name of "Eustatius". We are indebted to Mr. Stothard for the discovery of this interesting feature of the tapestry. It indicates Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who was a principal commander in that engagement, and to whom was intrusted the *ruse de guerre* lately alluded to. He is represented as pointing out William to the dismayed soldiery. He holds a standard on which is a plain cross, between four roundels: a near approach to a positive heraldic bearing. Roundels (*boules*) were afterwards the allusive arms of the Counts of Boulogne.

The general *mêlée* is followed by the death of Harold. He is first seen fighting beside his standard-bearer, who carries the royal ensign of the Dragon, long afterwards borne before the kings of England. He is next depicted endeavouring to draw out the arrow which has entered his eye. The weapon is nearly effaced, but is sufficiently visible to identify the subject. He is a third time represented, under the words *interfectus est*, falling on the ground, and a Norman knight on horseback inflicting the wound in his thigh, which wanton barbarity so excited the indignation of William that he disgraced its perpetrator on the field.

The English are then represented in headlong flight, pursued by the victorious Normans.

After this subject, the tapestry is "a mass of rags, in which", says Mr. Stothard, "I was fortunate enough to discover a figure on horseback, with some objects in the lower border. These are additional discoveries, not to be found in Montfaucon's print. The figure of the horseman certainly decides the question that the pursuit of the flying Saxons is not ended where the tapestry so unfortunately breaks off".—(*Archæologia*, vol. xix, p. 185.) It does not follow, however, that anything beyond the total rout of the Saxons was ever executed, and there is nothing in the appearance of that single horseman amongst the flying foot to contradict the opinion of Mr. Hudson Gurney, that "here the tapestry ends with figures of persons retreating in great haste, not complete in its ornamental work, but I think complete in its history".—(*Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 370.)

I will endeavour to be as brief as possible in the few observations which I have reserved for the conclusion of this



already too long dissertation. The subject of the costume, of all classes, depicted in this curious relic, has been pretty nearly exhausted in the course of the controversy respecting its age and origin. So little was really known of the dress, weapons, and ornaments of the eleventh century, when this tapestry first attracted the attention of antiquaries, that pages on pages have been wasted in assertions and speculations on points which are now perfectly understood and undisputed. The more the tapestry is examined, the clearer will it appear that it must have been executed as closely as possible upon the events it portrays, and whilst the most minute particulars in them were matters of public notoriety. Although the armour and weapons might be found similar in the reign of Henry I, the civil costume—particularly that of the ladies—had undergone great changes even as early as the end of the reign of William II; and the dress of the clergy, which is scarcely distinguishable in the tapestry from that of the laity, had progressed considerably towards the magnificence it attained in the thirteenth century. The custom of shaving the back of the head, which I have already described to you, was abandoned as barbarous and unbecoming very shortly after the establishment of the Normans in England, and, with the usual caprice of fashion, they seem to have run into the opposite extremes. As early as 1095, a decree was passed against long hair by the Council of Rouen, without effect, and the sermon of Serlo, which moved Henry I and his courtiers to tears, and induced them there and then to submit to be cropped by the enthusiastic prelate with a pair of scissors, which, at the critical moment, he whipped out of his sleeve, is an anecdote now to be found in every history of England. That the tapestry was the work of any Matilda there is no ground for believing, beyond the mere fact that it was most probably worked in the lifetime of the first, the queen of the Conqueror. The opinion that it owed its origin to the second Matilda, queen of Henry I, “the good Queen Mold”, as she was affectionately called, was founded on the Saxon words and orthography occasionally to be met with in the inscriptions. One important fact, however, seems to have escaped the notice of all the learned writers on this subject, both French and English, with the exception of Dr. Bruce. The people of Bayeux were of Saxon origin, and spoke,

even in the tenth century, a Teutonic dialect. "In this canton of Normandy", says M. Thierry, who, though he quotes the information from Guillaume de Jumièges, does not appear to have seen its bearing on this question, "the Norwegian idiom differing little from the popular tongue, became fused with it, and rendered it intelligible to the Danes and Scandinavians". Those who contended in favour of the third Matilda (the Empress of Germany and mother of Henry II) argued in total ignorance of the internal evidence presented by the tapestry itself, and were put to the rout nearly fifty years ago by one of the most intelligent and competent of all writers on the subject, Mr. Alfred Stothard. Now, when we take into consideration the strong arguments used by M. Pluquet in support of his opinion that the tapestry was worked by order of Bishop Odo, "who alone had the power to deposit and display the representation of a subject from profane history in a sacred edifice", and add to them, first, the fact that, next to the royal personages, the said Odo is one of the most prominent figures in the tapestry. Secondly, that the officers whose names alone are mentioned, are found after the Conquest holding large estates under him in England, and therefore must have been in his service, and consequently, well known to the people of Bayeux. Thirdly, that the dialect spoken in Bayeux was a mixture of Saxon and Norman, that would account for the characters of the inscription. Fourthly, that the width and length of the tapestry show it to be specially adapted to the purpose for which it is known to have been used¹ and presumed to have been intended by those who projected or executed the work; and lastly, that with the exception of its one visit to Paris, by order of Napoleon I, it appears never to have been out of the city with which it is so closely associated,—can we have any rational cause for doubting either its age or its origin?

It has been so often my disagreeable duty to disabuse the popular mind of a long-cherished tradition, that it is quite refreshing to me to fight in favour of the genuine antiquity of a monument of so much historical interest and importance as the one under consideration.

I do not profess to have thrown much additional light on

¹ It is of the exact length required to surround that portion of the church in which it was formerly exhibited.

this subject : nor in my description of it have I attempted to rival the graphic and powerful narrative of our esteemed fellow-labourer Dr. Collingwood Bruce, whose fervid eloquence we have all so frequently admired. My object has been to support, to the best of my ability, the critical opinions of such writers as Stothard and Pluquet, and pick out for clearer examination the few grains of wheat from the bushels of chaff in which they ran great risk of being buried. The poet has truly said “a little learning is a dangerous thing”, but I question whether there is not quite as much danger in a large amount of learning when not under the direction of sound judgment. In the former case (at any rate as far as regards archæology), the damage is commonly confined to the reputation of the unfortunate individual ; but in the latter, incalculable mischief is done to the many, who are awed by the apparent weight of the authority, and too much dazzled by the display of erudition to perceive “the baseless fabric” of the argument on which it is wasted. Those who have toiled through the principal archæological publications abroad and at home, during the last hundred years, will, I think, bear witness to the truth of this observation, as applied to the controversy respecting the Bayeux tapestry.

THE NINE MONTHS OF HAROLD'S REIGN.

BY THE REV. F. H. ARNOLD, M.A.

ACCORDING to Florence of Worcester, Harold son of Godwine reigned nine months and nine days,¹ and reckoning from the death of his predecessor, which occurred on Thursday the 5th day of January, to Saturday the 14th of October, 1066, the day of his own death, this chronological statement appears to be correct.

The shortness of the time during which Harold II occupied the throne of England may have been the reason why he has been so far ignored by some historians, that by them he is scarcely included among our sovereigns. In their pages we pass from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Norman William, and bestow but a glance on him whose fall at the head of the Saxon host at the Battle of Hastings was the most momentous event in Europe of the eleventh century. More recently, however, Harold has been reinstated in the place which he held with contemporary chroniclers. In the pages of Turner, Lingard, and Lappenberg, he appears as he lived among his countrymen—their hero and leader against the invader, and every inch a king.

The primary authorities for Harold's reign are the Norman writers, Wace, William of Poitiers, Ordericus Vitalis, and the false Ingulph, with William of Malmesbury, who, although professing to record dispassionately, has evidently a Norman bias; but against these may be set the Saxon Chronicles and Florence of Worcester. When the assertions of Norman non-contemporaries run counter to these, to Saxon charters, or the *Domesday Survey*, they deserve little credence.² The amplifications of later annalists, such

¹ "Regnavit autem Haroldus mensibus ix et diebus totidem." (Flor. Wigorn.)

² Although one main object of the Bayeux Tapestry is, doubtless, to represent Harold as usurping the crown of England, it is observable that it always portrays him with due respect. He appears first as "*dux anglorum*"; and after his coronation, when he is seated on the throne, the superscription is "*hic residet Harold rex.*" In the expedition against Conan it also testifies to his courage.

as Bromton and Knyghton, are only curious as showing how monastic writers could make a story grow.

The most trustworthy account of Harold's accession¹ is that of Florence. The chronicler thus commences the *annus mirabilis*, 1066: "King Edward the Pacific, son of King Æthelred, died in London on Thursday the eve of the Epiphany, in the fourth indiction, after having filled the royal throne of the Anglo-Saxons twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days. He was buried the next day with royal pomp amidst the tears and lamentations of the crowds who flocked to his funeral. After his interment, Harold, the *vice-king*, son of Earl Godwine, *whom the king before his death had chosen for his successor*, was elected king² by the leading men of all England, and the same day was crowned by Ealdred, Archbishop of York."

Edward long before his death was aware that there would be a disputed succession. As early as 1057 he had sent for Eadward, called Eadward the Outlaw, the undoubted heir to the crown, as the son of Eadmund Ironside; but soon after his arrival in England he died. His son Eadgar Ætheling was too young in 1066 to be elected king, when a strong hand was needed at the helm, and to him was then given the Earldom of Oxford. The Norman writers assert that the Confessor promised the crown to William the Bastard, but the Saxon annalists record that he nominated Harold. A formidable competitor also appeared in the person of Hardrada, King of Norway, who represented the Danish interest, and thought that the day had come when the Norsemen might regain England as their own. Like many of his predecessors, it is certain that Harold was elected king by the Witan, and as the principle of

¹ It is apparent that, during a considerable period, Harold's course of action had obtained favour with the Saxon people. As early as the reign of Harthacnut he was in possession of power; and, in striking contrast with the other sons of the great and popular Earl Godwine, in his government of East Anglia, and afterwards of Wessex, he was just, kind, and considerate. By his conquest of the Welsh king, Gruffydd, and the subjugation of Wales, in 1063, he shewed himself an able commander, and delivered his country from its then most troublesome enemies. As the end of the imbecile Confessor approached, it became evident to the Anglo-Saxons that Harold, the king's brother-in-law, and the ruler of the most powerful earldom in England, was, both from his position and his experiences in war, the only leader under whom they could hope to make a stand against the long-anticipated Norman aggression.

² The *Saxon Chronicle* has only this brief but expressive entry, evidently made *after* the Conquest, "This year was Harold consecrated king; and he, with little quiet, abode therein the while that he wielded the realm."

hereditary succession had not then been established, this constituted his best right to the crown.

"Tall, open-handed and handsome", and, as he has been described, "the first man of the age",¹ Harold, as soon as he assumed the reins of government, began to exert himself with vigour. "He made it his business", says the *Chronicle*, "to revoke unjust laws and establish good ones"; and, as a late historian observes, "the greivous custumes and taxes which his predecessors had raised he abolished, whilst the ordinarie wages of his servants and men of warre he increased". Even Orderic extols his admirable qualities, "*Erat enim magnitudine et elegantia viribusque corporis, animique audacia et lingua facundia multisque facetiis et probitationibus admirabilis*"; but, while pleasant and agreeable, the king was also mindful of the requirements of his position. It is mentioned that he became the protector of the churches and monasteries, and shewed himself kind and courteous to all good men, but to malefactors he used the utmost rigor, since he gave orders to his earls, ealdormen, vice reeves, and all his officers to correct all thieves, robbers, and disturbers of the peace, and he labored himself for the defences of the country by land and sea.²

Seated on the throne, Harold at once instituted a complete return to the national customs of the Saxons. To the charters of the late reign, seals had been appended after the Norman fashion; these were replaced by the cross or signature as before. Yet foreigners were not expelled, an act of lenity which they reciprocated by intriguing against him.

In his own dominions, Northumbria alone gave Harold cause for alarm. Disliking a southron, the men of the north would have preferred a chieftain from that district; but after Siward's decease no fitting representative could be found. Harold attempted conciliation, and with success. He journeyed northwards, not with the troops whom he had led to victory in Wales, but in the company of Wulfstan, the popular and venerable Bishop of Worcester. Malmesbury informs us that they gained access, *ad abditissimas gentes*, and that even these were won by the Saint to

¹ "*Virtute corporis et animi in populo præstabat*," says the author of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, published by the Record Commission. It is much to be regretted that this contemporary writer does not enter on Harold's reign.

² Flor. Wigorn.

Harold's cause. A circumstance is also added which illustrates the manners of the time. The long hair of the Northumbrians was regarded by Wulfstan as a mark of effeminacy and greatly excited his displeasure. At length, however, they submitted the flowing locks in which they delighted to be cropped by the saint's penknife, although, as the writer gravely observes, that instrument was not intended for such a purpose, but for paring his nails and erasing blots in his manuscripts.¹

Harold riveted the affections of his northern subjects by his marriage with Eadgyth, daughter of Ælfgar, and sister of the Earls Eadwine and Morkere, but from the day of his coronation his thoughts were chiefly directed towards a most formidable adversary abroad.

Comets, by the ignorant, have often been held to portend war and disaster, and the comet of 1066 is mentioned by every annalist of the period. The words of the Saxon Chronicle are these, "There was over all England such a token seen in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said it was *cometa*, the star, which some men called the haired star, and it appeared first on the eve of Litanía Major, the 8th before the Kalends of May, and so shone seven nights."² It is described by a Norman writer as having three tails; and Thierry, improving the circumstance, adds that it was visible in England nearly a month, producing upon every mind an extraordinary impression of wonder and fear. The people collected in the streets and public places of the towns and villages to contemplate the phenomenon. Duke William was soon informed of Harold's accession. His reception of the tidings is thus graphically related by Wace. "The duke was in his park at Rouen. He held in his hand a bow, which he had strung and bent, making it ready for the arrow, . . . when a serjeant appeared who told him privily that King Edward was dead, and that Harold was raised to be king. When the duke had listened to him . . . he became as a man enraged, and left the craft of the woods. Oft he tied his mantle, and oft he untied it again, and spoke to no man, neither

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 253.

² Among the many notices of comets which appear in our early chronicles, this is especially valuable. Mr. Hinde is disposed to recognise it as Halley's comet, observed also by Apian in 1531 and by Kepler in 1607. It reappeared, in accordance with previous calculations, in 1835.

dared any man speak to him. Then he crossed the Seine in a boat, and came to his hall and entered therein and sat down at the end of a bench, shifting his place from time to time, covering his face with his mantle, and resting his head against a pillar." It is difficult to discover any right which William could have asserted to the English crown. As an alien, he knew that he could not hope for the suffrages of the Saxons; and he therefore represented Harold as perjured, and himself as nominated by the Confessor to the throne. In these statements there was probably some residuum of truth; but when the day of trial came, the Saxons plainly perceived that the main point which they had to consider was, would they submit to be governed by a foreign ruler? The result of William's deliberations was a fixed resolution to fight for the crown of England. He forthwith commenced preparations for invasion, and did his best in every way to damage the cause of Harold his antagonist. Meanwhile, other opponents had been busy. Harold's younger brother, Tostig, had conceived against him a deadly enmity. He had been expelled from his earldom by the Northumbrians, and was exasperated because Harold had not re-imposed him upon them.¹ Tostig hastened to his brother-in-law, Duke William, and urged an immediate attack on England. He formed a compact with the Norman, and, as early as April, appeared off the Isle of Wight with a fleet and some Flemish adventurers. He there levied contributions, and did harm everywhere by the sea coast. On hearing that Harold was advancing to repel him he went "north into Humber and there ravaged Lindsey and slew many good men; but when Eadwine the earl and Morkere the earl understood that, they came thither and drove him out of the land". With the remnant of his fleet he then proceeded to Scotland, where he remained during the summer and obtained some assistance.

The king, now freed for a time from apprehension as to his brother, took active measures for the defence of the south coast. From the experience which he had gained of William's character, during his detention in Normandy, Harold knew well the energetic enemy with whom he had

¹ Harold has been censured as if he had acted in an unfriendly way towards his brother, but the Cottonian MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* is strongly in his favour. "There was a great gemot at Oxford, and there was Harold the Earl, and would work a reconciliation, if he might; but he could not," etc.



to deal; and soon the tidings came of vast preparations for invasion. Workmen of every kind, it was said, were building and fitting up ships, smiths and armourers were busy making lances, swords, and coats of mail; porters were continually going to and fro, transporting arms to the vessels. "He therefore collected a larger fleet and army than had ever been seen in the country, and kept watch all the summer and autumn to prevent the landing." The Isle of Wight was Harold's headquarters, and he stationed troops at suitable points along the coast; but sufficient attention was not paid to the supplies, "provisions failed towards the time of the Nativity of St. Mary (8th Sept.), and both fleet and army were disbanded. The king himself returned to London."

In considering the conquest of England in 1066 (the last subjugation of this island), we become strongly impressed with the fact that it resulted, not so much from the valour and enterprise of the Normans, as from a concatenation of adverse circumstances. In 1588 the army and fleet of England were ready for the invader, and we know what followed. Harold also had intended to await the Norman on land, and to attack him in the Channel. Had the Norman armada, encumbered as it was by a multitude of horses, been assailed by the Saxon fleet, it would, doubtless, have experienced some confusion during its progress. Not only was the Channel then unguarded by a fleet, but the heavy losses sustained by Harold's forces in the north, rendered him the less able to cope with the southern invaders. The battles of Fulford and of Stamford Bridge had much to do with the issue of the battle of Hastings. As in 1866, Austria was assailed from the north and from the south by Prussia and Italy, similarly in 1066 was England attacked from the north and from the south by the Norwegians and by the Normans, almost simultaneously; and the distraction which ensued in both instances proved fatal.

Tostig wished to acquire the kingdom, or a part of it, for himself, and soon abandoned his alliance with William. He applied for assistance to Svend, the Danish king, but met with a curt refusal. With Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, he was more successful. It was agreed that they should divide England between them, and a Norwegian fleet was fitted out, of three hundred sail.

Hardrada was one of the most successful adventurers of his time, a master of stratagem, and a scarcely less formidable opponent than Duke William. Of his strategy we have some curious instances on record. He took a Sicilian town by the following expedient. The walls were so strong that he could effect no breach; the inhabitants had plenty of provisions, and every requisite for defence. The besiegers were in despair, when Hardrada ordered some fowlers to catch the small birds which nested in the town, and flew daily to the forest for food for their young. Splinters of inflammable wood, smeared with wax and sulphur, were affixed to their backs, and ignited. The birds flew quickly to their nests under the thatched roofs, and the town began to blaze, on which the horrified townsmen rushed out and surrendered. On another occasion he simulated death, his officers placed him in a coffin, and asked leave for his interment in a city which he wished to take. This was granted. The supposed dead body of Hardrada entered alive; at a given signal his troops followed, and a horrible massacre ensued.¹ For ten years he had commanded in the service of Zoe, the Byzantine empress. In Asia, Africa, and Europe, he had been victorious, having gained no fewer than eighteen pitched battles, and taken eighty fortified places. On returning to the north, he at length became king of Norway, and married Elizabeth, daughter of the Czar. Like Cnut, he now desired the joint sovereignty of Norway and England. Hardrada and Tostig were joined by the Earls of Orkney and some Scottish and Irish vassals. In the beginning of September they landed at Scarborough; and its taking, as described in the Saga, gives an idea of the savage warfare of the Northmen at that time. "The king went up a hill, and made a great pile upon it, which he set on fire; and when the pile was in clear flame, his men took large forks, and pitched the blazing wood into the town, so that one house caught fire after another, and the town surrendered." Selby² was next besieged.

Harold had prepared to march northwards, but according to a metrical life of the Confessor,³—taking it for what it is

¹ Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, 169.

² Heimskringler.

³ *La Estoire de Saint Edward*. In *lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. Mr. Luard.

worth, and conjecturing a small residuum of truth,—he was assailed by another enemy, unexpected and invulnerable :

“ When Harold, king of England, hears it,
Wrath has he in heart, he had not ever more.
He causes to be assembled all his people
Of the kingdom in common ;
But when he sought to advance with his army,
Then he has grief on all sides.
The *gout* in his thigh seizes him
Fiercely, so that he cannot go a step.
King Harold is in anguish ;
He knows not what he can do,
For his thigh is much swollen,
And his leg is now festering.”

When thus suffering, Harold did not apply to the Saxon leeches, or make use of any of the customary remedies of the time, but is represented as beseeching the help of his deceased brother-in-law :

“ Devoutly to St. Edward he prays,
That he be his counsel and aid ;
All the night he laments and weeps,
And says, for the kingdom am I anxious ;
No matter if I perish.
At length St. Edward appeared,
Who had regard to his desire ;
Who now fails not at his need,
And makes King Harold entirely well.”

Freed from this detention, Harold, with seven bodies of troops, hastened to the scene of action ; but he did not arrive in time to head the northern army against the Norwegians. On the 20th of September, Eadwine and Morkere hazarded a battle at Fulford on the Ouse, which ended disastrously : “ The Northmen,” says the Chronicle, “ had the victory. Then was it made known to Harold, king of the Angles, that this had thus happened ; and this battle was on the vigil of St. Matthew.”

York submitted to Hardrada, and its citizens agreed to assist the invaders. The Norwegian army then proceeded to Stamford Bridge on the Derwent to rest after the engagement, and arrange matters before proceeding southwards. There it was surprised by Harold. “ Prompt and

daring in his projects, the Saxon king passed through York on the 24th of September, and on the 25th led his forces against the Northmen." We have the battle of Stamford Bridge vividly described in the *Heimskringler*: "The Norwegians landed in expectation of receiving the hostages from York. The day was fine, and it was hot sunshine; they had laid aside their armour, and taken only their helmets, shields, spears, and swords. Some had bows and arrows, and all were very merry." They were flushed with success, and fancied that the cloud of dust raised by the approaching Saxons was caused by the men of York, whom they were awaiting; a line of steel soon betokened the vanguard of an army. Hardrada was not unequal to the emergency; he sent for succours from his ships; he unfurled his standard, Landeyda—the desolation of lands; he drew up his troops in line, and bent back the wings so as best to sustain a charge of cavalry; he rode along the front, to inspect his order, and was himself conspicuous from his unusual size, his bright blue mantle, glittering head-piece, and black charger. According to the Saga, Hardrada was five ells, or more than eight English feet in height; handsome, and of noble appearance. He had large, but well made, hands and feet, and wore a short beard and long moustaches. These, with his hair, were yellow. Hardrada's horse stumbled, and he fell. Some characteristic words of Harold are recorded: "Who is that giant," he asked, "who has fallen from his steed?" He was told that it was the King of Norway. "A stately man," he said, "but you see his luck has forsaken him." Tostig was posted at a distance; despite his crimes, he was valorous, and acted up to what he considered his code of honour. An offer was made him of a third of the kingdom if he would submit. His reply was, "What of Hardrada, my friend and ally?" "Seven feet of ground," Harold answered, "shall he have, or a little more, for his height passes that of other men." "Say, then, to my brother," replied Tostig, emphatically referring to his father's reputation, "let him prepare to fight, for none but liars shall ever say that the son of Godwine deserted the son of Ligurd." Hardrada was killed by an arrow, which pierced his throat, at the commencement of the battle. Tostig, after rejecting a second offer, was slain, and the Norwegians, renewing the contest a third time, were defeated with great slaughter.

Heaps of bleached bones remained long after, a memorial to the passer-by of the terrible conflict. Ordericus mentions that they were visible in his day : "*Locus belli, pertranseuntibus evidenter patet, ubi magna congeries opium mortuorum usque hodie jacet.*"

Harold treated the surviving Norwegians with much clemency. Olaf, the son of Hardrada, and Paul, jarl of the Orkneys, with twenty-four ships, after giving hostages, were permitted to return home. Three hundred vessels, and a quantity of gold acquired by Harold Hardrada in his wars in the East, are said to have fallen into the possession of the English king. Of this spoil it is asserted that he made no distribution, and thus alienated some who would have fought for him at Hastings. Rapin supposes that Harold deviated from his usual generosity, that he might not be obliged to levy supplies at such a crisis, when the Normans were upon him. The shortness of the time, however, which intervened between Harold's departure from York and arrival in Sussex, is alone sufficient to account for the scantiness of the force which accompanied him thither, irrespective of the severe losses so recently sustained.

Four days after the battle of Stamford Bridge a Sussex thegn, who had ridden day and night from Hastings, brought intelligence that Duke William had landed. The narrative of Florence appears the most trustworthy : "Thereupon the king led his army towards London by forced marches, and although he was very sensible that some of the bravest men in England had fallen in the two (recent) battles, and that one half of his troops was not yet assembled, he did not hesitate to meet the enemy in Sussex without loss of time."

On the 13th of October, Harold arrived within sight of the Norman position. It can scarcely be supposed, with some, that he designed to surprise the southern as he had the northern invader. The Saxon king probably underrated the Norman army, when he hastily marched from the metropolis. Had he adopted Fabian tactics, as Gyrth counselled, the issue might have been otherwise ; but he determined on fighting. The conqueror of Gruffyd and of the king of Norway shewed good generalship. He intercepted William's march on London and strongly fortified the advantageous post he had secured. Unless the Normans could

storm the Saxon barricades they would be driven towards the south-coast to certain destruction. Had Harold's directions been implicitly followed, it is difficult to perceive how the result could have been otherwise. On St. Calixtus day, 1066, was fought one of the decisive battles of the world—that of Senlac or Hastings. In Wace we have the verbal description, whilst the Bayeux tapestry supplies the illustrations. Comment on it in this paper would be superfluous. No struggle, for life and liberty and all that men hold dear, could have been more desperately contested. Until their king was disabled the Saxons shewed no sign of giving way. An arrow, shot upwards, struck Harold above the left eye and put it out. The Saxon army still fought on, until lured from its vantage ground by Duke William, when its experienced leader could no longer issue his commands.

Finally, the defences were stormed and the last Saxon king fell, having done all that man could do, with his face to the foe, and whatever opinion may be formed as to the results of that decisive day, it is certain that no one more energetic, truer hearted, or more thoroughly identified with the real interests of the Saxon nation could then have headed the Saxon host than Harold, son of Godwine.

CATALOGUE OF ROMAN COINS

FOUND AT THE REAR OF NETLEY HOSPITAL, WHILST DIGGING THE
FOUNDATION OF THE NEW LUNATIC ASYLUM, JAN. 7, 1867.

BY F. DE CHAUMONT, ESQ., M.D.

I. *Valerianus*, 253 to 263 A.D.

	No. of coins
1. <i>Obverse</i> . IMP . C . P . LIC . VALERIANVS . P . F . AVG. Ra- diated bearded head to right. <i>Reverse</i> . ORIENS . AVG. The sun, holding a whip. Billon. 2	
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. VICTORIA AVG. Figure of Victory. B. or III. Æ. 1	
<i>Total of Valerianus</i>	3

II. *Gallienus*, 263 to 268 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i> GALLIENVS . AVG. Radiated bearded head to right. R. ABUNDANTIA . AVG. Figure of Abundance, standing. In exergue B. B. 8	
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. AEQVITAS . AVG. Figure of Equity. B. 4	
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. AETERNITAS . AVG. Saturn (?) standing, holding a globe. B. 7	
4. Another; same, but head on obverse to left. Scarce. B. 1	
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. APOLLINI . CONS . AVG. Cen- taur, to left. In exergue Z. B. 6	
6. <i>Ob.</i> same, but Centaur to right. B. 3	
7. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. CONCORDIA . AVG. Female seated. B. 2	
8. <i>Ob.</i> GALL R. CONSECRATIO. Altar. Rare. B. 1	
9. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. DIANAE . CONS . AVG. Various types: stag, hind, antelope, ibex, and goat, to right or left. B. 23	
10. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. DIANA . FELIX Diana, standing, with doe. Rare? B. 1	
11. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. FELICITAS . AVG. Female, stand- ing. B. 1	
12. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. FIDES (or FIDEI) MILITVM. Fe- male, with spear and standard. B. 5	
13. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. FORTVNA . REDVX. Fortune, standing. In field, S. B. 12	
14. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. CONSERVATOR . AVG. Æscula- pius, standing. B. 1	
15. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. R. IOVI . CONS . AVG. Various: goat, to right or left; antelope, to left; Jupiter, standing. B. 7	
16. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. IOVI . VLTORI. Jupiter, with thunderbolt. In field, S. B. 4	

		No. of coins.	
17.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> IOVI . PROPVGATOR . Jupiter, walking to left, with thunderbolt. In field, XI.	B.	4
18.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LAETITIA . AVG. Female, standing.	B.	1
19.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LIBERAL . AVG. Liberality, standing.	B.	2
20.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LIBERO . P . CONS . AVG. Panther. <i>Rare.</i>	B.	6
21.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> MARTI . PACIFERO . Mars, walking. <i>Rare.</i>	B.	1
22.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . GALLIENVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> CONS . AVG. Griffin, to left.	B.	1
23.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> NEPTVNO . CONS . AVG. Sea-horse. <i>Rare.</i>	B.	2
24.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> ORIENS . AVG. Sol, passing to right, with whip. In field, z.	B.	4
25.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. Peace, standing. In field, s. I. or T. or V. *	B.	11
26.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . CAES . GALLIENVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> PERPET . AVG. Female, standing. <i>Scarce.</i>	B.	1
27.	<i>Ob.</i> GALLIENVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> PIETAS . AVG. Piety sacrificing at an altar. In exergue, IIP.	B.	3
28.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . GALLIENVS . P . F . AVG. <i>R.</i> P . M . TR . POT . VII . COS . IIII . P . P . Emperor, standing.	B.	1
29.	<i>Ob.</i> GALLIENVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> PROVIDENTIA . AVG. Providence, standing.	B. or III Æ.	3
30.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SALVS . AVG. Hygeia, feeding a serpent. In field, SI or *. In exergue, D or NS.	B.	5
31.	<i>Ob.</i> & <i>R.</i> same, but figure of Æsculapius.	B.	2
32.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SECVRIT . PERPET. Female, standing. In field, N.	B.	4
33.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SOLI . CONS . AVG. Pegasus, to right.	B.	2
34.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VBERITAS . AVG. Female, standing.	B.	13
35.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VENVS . VICTRIX. Venus, standing. <i>Rare!</i>	B.	1
36.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VICTORIA . AVG. Victory. In field, z.	B.	1
37.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VIRTVS . AVGVSTI . or AVG. Soldier, with spear and globe.	B.	6
38.	Uncertain and barbarous.	III Æ.	2

Total of Gallienus . 162

III. *Salonina, wife of Gallienus, obt. 268 A.D.*

1.	<i>Ob.</i> SALONINA . AVG. Head, to right. <i>R.</i> AEQVITAS . AVG. Equity, standing.	B.	1
2.	<i>Ob.</i> SALONINA . AVG. <i>R.</i> FECVNDITAS . AVG. Female, standing.	B.	5
3.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> IVNONI . CONS . AVG. Antelope.	B.	5



			No. of coins
4.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> PYDICITIA . AVG. Female, seated.	B. 2
5.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> VESTA . AVG. Vesta, seated.	B. 2
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> VESTA . FELIX. Vesta, standing.	B. 1

Total of Salonina . 13

IV. *Postumus*, 258 to 267 A.D. *Usurper*.

1.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . POSTVMVS . AVG. Radiated and bearded head, to right.	<i>R.</i> CONCORDIA . AVG. Female, standing, with helmet at her feet.	B. 2
2.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . POSTVMVS . P . F . AVG.	<i>R.</i> COS . IIII. Victory.	B. 2
3.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> FELICITAS . AVG. Female, standing. <i>Scarce</i> .	B. 1
4.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . POSTVMVS . AVG.	<i>R.</i> FIDES . EQVIT. Female, sitting. In exergue, P.	B. 3
5.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1.	<i>R.</i> HERC . PACIFERO. Hercules, standing. <i>Rare</i> .	B. 1
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> IOVI . VICTORI. Jupiter, moving to left.	B. 3
7.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . POSTVMVS . P . F . AVG.	<i>R.</i> MONETA . AVG. Female, standing.	B. 2
8.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1.	<i>R.</i> ORIENS . AVG. Sol, with whip.	B. 3
9.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. Peace, standing.	B. 4
10.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> PIETAS . AVG. Piety, standing.	B. 1
11.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> P . M . TR . POT . COS . V . P . P. Emperor, standing.	B. 2
12.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> VICTORIA . AVG. Figure of Victory. <i>Scarce</i> .	B. 2

Total of Postumus . 26

V. *Victorinus*, 265 to 267 A.D. *Associated with Postumus*.

1.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . PI . VICTORINVS . P . F . AVG. Radiated and bearded head to right.	<i>R.</i> AEQVITAS . AVG. Figure of Equity, standing.	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 2
2.	<i>Ob.</i> as above, but very imperfect legend.	<i>R.</i> CONCOR . MILITVM. Female standing. In field, A . A. <i>Restruck</i> .	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 1
3.	<i>Ob.</i> DIVO . VICTORINO . PIO. <i>R.</i> CONSECRATIO. Eagle. <i>Very rare</i> .	<i>R</i> 3.	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 1
4.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . PIAV . VICTORINVS . P . F . AVG.	<i>R.</i> FIDES . MILIT. Female with two standards.	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 1
5.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . VICTORINVS . P . F . AVG.	<i>R.</i> INVICTVS. Sol moving to right with whip. In field *. <i>Used to be thought rare</i> .	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 67
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> LAETITIA . AVG. Female standing.	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 1
7.	<i>Ob.</i> as No. 4 or No. 5.	<i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. Peace, standing. In field, V *.	B. or III. \mathcal{A} . 88

		No. of coins
8. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 4. <i>R.</i> PIETAS . AVG. Piety, sacrific- ficing.	B. or III. Æ.	33
9. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PROVIDENTIA . AVG. Providence, standing.	B. or III. Æ.	75
10. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SALVS . AVG. Hygeia feeding serpent to left.	B. or III. Æ.	28
11. <i>Ob.</i> and <i>R.</i> same, but Hygeia holding serpent to right.	B. or III. Æ.	27
12. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VIRTVS . AVG. Helmeted figure. (Emperor?)	B. or III. Æ.	58
13. Uncertain reverses—worn, etc.	B. or III. Æ.	23
14. Coins from barbarous dies.	B. or III. Æ.	5

Total of Victorinus . 410

VI. *Marius, killed 267 A.D., after a reign of three days. Usurper.*

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . MARIVS . P . F . AVG. Radiated bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> CONCORDIA . MILITVM. Two hands joined. <i>Very rare.</i> R 3.	III. Æ.	1
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VII. *Tetricus Senior (Augustus). Usurper, 267 to 273 A.D.*

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG. Radiated bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> COMES . AVG. Victory hold- ing a crown. <i>Used to be thought rare.</i> III. Æ. (some B?)		66
2. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG. <i>R.</i> FIDES . MILITVM. Female with standards.	Do.	30
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 2. <i>R.</i> HILARITAS . AVG. Female with branch and cornucopia. <i>Used to be thought rare.</i>	Do.	93
4. <i>Ob.</i> legend as No. 1 or No. 2. <i>R.</i> LAETITIA . AVG . N OR AVGG. Female standing.	Do.	126
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> MONETA . AVG. Female standing <i>Rare.</i> R 2.	III. Æ.	1
6. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. Peace standing.	Do.	147
* * * Some are from barbarous dies.		
7. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PRINC . IVVENT. Male figure (Emperor?)	Do.	2
8. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SALVS . AVG. Hygeia feeding a serpent.	Do.	59
9. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . PESVIVS . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG. (Two others same as No. 2). <i>R.</i> SPES . AVGG. Hope walk- ing	Do.	3
10. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> SPES . PVBLICA. Hope walk- ing.	Do.	51
11. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VICTORIA . AVG. Victory.	Do.	23
12. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VIRTVS . AVGG. Military figure.	Do.	50
13. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> uncertain—worn and illegible.	Do.	81
14. Coins from barbarous dies, of various types: PAX, SALVS, PROVIDENTIA, HILARITAS, LAETITIA, etc.	Do.	17

Total of Tetricus Senior 749

VIII. *Tetricus Junior. Reigned with his father in Gaul or Britain (?)*

	No. of coins
1. <i>Ob.</i> C. PIVESV. TETRICVS. CAES. Radiated beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> COMES. AVG. Victory holding crown and branch. III. Æ. or B (?)	17
*** <i>These used to be considered rare.</i>	
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> FIDES. MILITVM. Female with standards.	Do. 1
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX. AVG. Peace standing.	Do. 13
4. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PIETAS. AVGG. Sacrificial instruments.	Do. 13
5. same, but legend: PIETAS. AVGVSTOR.	Do. 31
*** <i>Some of both 4 and 5 are from barbarous dies.</i>	
6. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PRINC. IVVENT. Prince in military attire	Do. 9
7. another has C. PIVESV. T. II. TETRICVS. CAES. Probably restruck or from a barbarous die.	Do. 1
8. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> SALVS. AVG. Hygeia feeding a serpent.	Do. 1
9. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SPES. AVGG. Figure of Hope.	Do. 80
10. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SPES. PVBLICA. Figure of Hope.	Do. 73
11. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VIRTVS. AVG. Military figure.	Do. 5
12. <i>R.</i> LAETITIA. AVG. N. Usual type. <i>Rare, but barbarous.</i>	Do. 1
13. Uncertain reverses.	Do. 6
14. Barbarous.	Do. 4

Total of Tetricus Junior 255

IX. *Claudius II, or Gothicus, 268 to 270 A.D.*

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. C. CLAVDIVS. AVG. Radiated bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> ADVENT. AVG. Figure of Emperor (?)	B. or III. Æ. 1
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> AEQVITAS. AVG. Figure of Equity.	Do. 19
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> ANNONA. AVG. Female with cornucopia and patera.	Do. 8
4. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> APOLLINI. CONS. AVG. Apollo standing.	Do. 1
5. <i>Ob.</i> DIVO. CLAVDIO. <i>R.</i> CONSECRATIO. Altar (or pyre?)	Do. 25
*** <i>Some are barbarous.</i>	
6. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. CLAVDIVS. AVG. <i>R.</i> CONSECRATIO. Eagle.	Do. 1
7. <i>Ob.</i> DIVO. CLAVDIO. <i>R.</i> CONSECRATIO. Eagle.	Do. 13
8. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. CLAVDIVS. P. F. AVG. <i>R.</i> DIANA. LUCIFERA. Diana with spear. <i>Rare.</i>	Do. 1
9. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> FELICITAS. AVG. Female standing.	Do. 6
10. <i>Ob.</i> DIVO. CLAVDIO. <i>R.</i> same as No. 9.	Do. 1
11. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 9. <i>R.</i> FELIC. TEMPO. Female with spear and caduceus.	Do. 4
12. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> FIDES. EXERCI. Female with two standards	III. Æ. 9

	No. of coins
13. Same, but FIDES . MILIT.	Do. 1
14. <i>Ob.</i> same as 6. <i>R.</i> FORTVNA . REDVX. Fortune standing.	Do. 5
15. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> GENIVS . AVG. Male figure standing.	Do. 3
16. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> GENIVS . EXERCIT. Similar type.	Do. 3
17. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> IOVI . STATORI. Jupiter standing with spear and thunderbolt.	Do. 3
18. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> IOVI . VICTORI. Nearly similar type.	Do. 6
19. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LAETITIA . AVG. Female standing.	Do. 3
20. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LIBERAL . AVG. or LIBERALITAS . AVG. Figure of Liberality standing.	Do. 3
21. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> MARS . VLTOR. Mars with trophy and spear.	Do. 7
22. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 6. <i>R.</i> MARTI . PACIFIC. Mars running, to left. <i>Rare.</i>	Do. 1
23. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. Peace ; usual type.	Do. 4
24. Same as last ; but legend, PAX . AVGVSTI.	Do. 3
25. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> P . M . TR . POT . II . COS . P . T. Emperor standing	Do. 5
26. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 6. <i>R.</i> PROVIDENTIA . AVG. Providence standing or leaning against a column.	Do. 10
27. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> SALVS . AVG. Hygeia feeding a serpent.	Do. 1
28. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SPES . PVBLICA. Hope standing	Do. 1
29. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 6. <i>R.</i> VBERITAS . AVG. Fertility standing.	Do. 3
30. <i>Ob.</i> same as 1. <i>R.</i> VICTORIA . AVG. Victory.	Do. 15
31. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 6. <i>R.</i> VIRTUS . AVG. Soldier standing.	Do. 7
32. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VIRTVS . AVG. Mars carrying a trophy and spear.	Do. 1
33. Uncertain reverses.	Do. 4
34. Barbarous.	Do. 8
<i>Total of Claudius Gothicus</i>	186

X. *Quintillus, killed 270 A.D.*

Duration of reign variously stated at from eight days to two months.

1. <i>Ob.</i> ... QVINTILLVS . AVG. Head to right. <i>R.</i> APOLLINI . CONS . AVG. Apollo standing. <i>Rare.</i>	Do. 1
2. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . M . AVR . CL . QVINTILLVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> ÆTERNITAS . AVG. Saturn (?) holding a globe.	Do. 2
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> CONCORDIA . AVG. Concord standing	Do. 3
4. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . QVINTILLVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> DIANA . LVCIFERA. Diana with spear. <i>Very rare.</i> <i>R.</i> 4.	Do. 1
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 2. <i>R.</i> FORTVNA . REDVX. Fortune standing.	Do. 1
6. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PROVIDENTIA . AVG. Usual type.	Do. 1
7. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SECVRITAS . AVG. Female leaning on a column, holding a spear. In field, XI.	Do. 3
8. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> VBERITAS . AVG. Usual type. <i>Rare.</i>	Do. 1

			No. of coins
9. <i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> VICTORIA . AVG.	Victory.	Do. 1
10. <i>Ob.</i> same as last.	<i>R.</i> VIRTUS . AVG.	Soldier standing.	Do. 1
	In field, B.		
<i>Total of Quintillus</i>			15

XI. *Aurelianus*, 270 to 275 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . CL . DOM . AVRELIVS . P . F . AVG.	Head to right.	
<i>R.</i> ÆTERNITAS . AVG.	Saturn (?) with globe.	Do. 1

Recapitulation.

I. Valerianus	-	-	2 types	-	-	3 coins
II. Gallienus	-	-	38 "	-	-	162 "
III. Salonina	-	-	6 "	-	-	13 "
IV. Postumus	-	-	12 "	-	-	26 "
V. Victorinus	-	-	14 "	-	-	410 "
VI. Marius	-	-	1 "	-	-	1 "
VII. Tetricus Senior	-	-	14 "	-	-	749 "
VIII. Tetricus Junior	-	-	14 "	-	-	255 "
IX. Claudius Gothicus	-	-	34 "	-	-	186 "
X. Quintillus	-	-	10 "	-	-	15 "
XI. Aurelianus	-	-	1 "	-	-	1 "
146 types						1821 coins

The probability is that these coins were buried where they were found, not much, if at all, later than the reign of Aurelian, which terminated A.D. 275. The above constitute the greater part of the *find*; but some (how many I am unable to say, but probably under a hundred) found their way into other hands.

Proceedings of the Congress.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING,

HASTINGS, 1866.

AUGUST 20TH TO 25TH INCLUSIVE.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 20.

At two P.M. the Mayor and most of the aldermen and members of the Town Council assembled at the Town Hall, Hastings, for a formal meeting and greeting of the Association.

The Mayor said,—“My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, the Corporation of Hastings bid me welcome the gentlemen who have done us the honour to visit this ancient town on this the eight hundredth year after the battle of Hastings. They regret that they have not a larger town-hall in which to receive so learned and distinguished a body, but they desire me to say that the welcome they offer is none the less sincere; and we hope that at no distant period we may have a better place in which to receive any distinguished persons who may favour us with a visit. You will hear from the noble President of the Association and the gentlemen who will follow him during the session much as to the richness of archæological remains in Hastings and the neigh-

bourhood, and therefore I will not detain you with any remarks of my own on that point, because they would not be so satisfactory and not so much in place as if they came from gentlemen who have made that a peculiar branch of their studies. I regret that my avocations will prevent my going with the society during their peregrinations so much as I wish. I sincerely hope that during their journeyings in this neighbourhood they will have fine weather, and that they will derive both benefit and pleasure from their visit to Hastings."

The Earl of Chichester then rose and said: "Mr. Mayor,—In the first place I have to thank you and the Corporation of Hastings for the kind way in which you have received the members of the Archaeological Association upon this occasion, and for the kind words in which you have just expressed your welcome to us in this ancient borough." Then turning to the company, his lordship said—"The Mayor has apologised for the want of a larger room for your accommodation. I, too, should be glad to see a larger town-hall, and one more worthy of this ancient borough. I hope, however, that we shall receive some interesting information from those of our friends who are learned in archæology, and who will accompany us to those few interesting remains which exist in Hastings and its vicinity. It would have been a great pleasure to me, not as president of this congress, but as owner of the ancient castle, if I could have received the Association within its walls; but the members will perfectly understand that I am not in the condition to shew them that baronial hospitality which, some three or four hundred years ago, one of my ancestors might have done. You will see when you visit the ruins, that, whatever remains of interest or beauty, there no longer exists a trace of the baronial hall, nor the kitchen in which to cook the provisions with which it would have given me great pleasure to entertain you. Although serving on this occasion as an archæologist, and as a member of our county association, I do not profess to be a working bee in the archæological hive, but I have always taken great interest in the inquiries and valuable publications of the several archæological societies in the kingdom. I very much value the honey which the archæological hive produces, and I am sure that those who, like myself, are students of history, must all value the labours of archæologists in the light which they often throw on disputed points of history, and in enabling us to understand the social habits of our ancestors. It is obvious that the great use of history is to improve our knowledge of human nature, and of the institutions and habits of times past, for the purpose of making us better acquainted with mankind in general, in order that we may learn how to improve our own institutions, how to avoid the faults of those who have gone before us, and also how best to imitate their virtues. It is at all times interesting to search for those mate-

rial relics which are scattered about this kingdom, and especially those remains which date since the Christian era. In these we may learn a great deal of the virtues and vices of our ancestors in times which we are too apt to look upon as very dark and ignorant. I have no doubt, if we were to test the talents and virtues of our ancestors, even without going back to the Saxons, who, as your Mayor has reminded us, were defeated very near this town eight hundred years ago, we should find that in what is called literary attainments they were very far behind us, and even far behind some of the nations which had preceded them; yet, if we look more closely into those records which we have, and which it is the business of archæology to illustrate, we shall find that there existed a large amount of those Christian virtues and simplicity of faith which it would be well for us to imitate. Now in all these discoveries and facts of the olden times of England on which archæology has thrown considerable light, we may learn much that in some respects should humble us and make us wiser men, but also a great many other things which should shew us the faults we ought to avoid. It is no argument against our love for these researches that some men perversely copy the follies, while they neglect to imitate the virtues of mediæval times; because in all ages there are men who are perverse enough to read the lessons of Providence as it were backwards, and to do just the contrary to what they ought to do when studying the history of the past. The Mayor has alluded to the battle of Hastings and the Norman conquest happening within two months of the present time eight hundred years ago. Now, I am not prepared to say whether any fresh information has been obtained as to the site where the conqueror landed, or the exact place of the battle, but these are subjects of interesting inquiry to any Sussex man, and, I may say, to any Englishman. During the inquiries which will take place this week great interest will no doubt be felt upon the subject, and perhaps some valuable suggestions will be made. The result of the battle of Hastings reminds me that I have received a kind letter from the Dowager Lady Webster, who tells me she has a number of relics connected with Battle Abbey, and which the members of this Association are perfectly welcome to inspect. Her ladyship was good enough to send me a list of those relics, and which I have placed in the hands of the Hon. Secretary, who will be glad to communicate the same to any lady or gentleman. I do not wish to detain the meeting by any further remarks on the day's proceedings, as we have no more time than is required for the somewhat long programme that has been announced; and I therefore think the sooner we commence our journey through the town the more time we shall have to inspect that which is most interesting to myself, and which comes last on the list, the castle."

Mr. G. GODWIN, F.S.A., Vice-President, said—"He had been asked to express the thanks of the meeting and the Association to Lord Chichester for the manner in which he had introduced the subject and purpose of the meeting, and to reiterate his hope that they would find interest in those objects to which he had alluded. All who knew the county of Sussex must be certain that it was remarkably rich in the long series of monuments from the time of the ancient Britons down to our own period, to the watering-places now flourishing. He thought it must be said that in no other county was there a more active, a more learned, or educated association than the Sussex Archaeological Association. The collections of that association went very far towards what was very much wanted—complete county histories. It would be an admirable result of those associations if some plan for producing perfect county histories could be originated by them. It would ill become him to occupy any time after the address they had heard, and he would therefore simply propose the best thanks of the association and meeting to Lord Chichester for his address."

The motion was seconded, and carried by acclamation.

The thanks of the Association having been tendered to the Mayor, and suitably acknowledged, the formality of the reception terminated; but before the company left the hall, attention was called to the shield which was taken as a trophy from off the gates at Quebec, and presented to the corporation of Hastings by General Wolfe; also to a massive silver bowl, which his worship explained had a special interest now that the question of precedence had been raised between Hastings and Dover. He read the inscription as follows:—"This silver bowl was presented to y^e Corporation of Hastings (y^e premier Cinque Port), by the gentlemen whose names are herein inscribed, who had y^e honour to be unanimously elected the barons of the said town to support y^e canopy over their sacred royall majesties, King George y^e 2nd and Queen Caroline, at y^e solemnity of their coronation at Westminster, the 11th day of October, 1727; and y^e same was made out of their shares and dividends of the silver staves, etc., belonging to y^e said canopy."

St. Clement's Church was the first place visited after leaving the hall. W. Gant, Esq., pointed out the leading features of interest. The structure is ancient. Its character shews it to have been built in the period 1360-1550. The church consists of a chancel, nave, north and south aisles, and embattled tower at the west end of the south aisle, and north and south porches. The tower is strengthened by graduated buttresses, and has a small octagonal turret at the south-west angle. The capitals of the lower arches are carved, and the eastern arch has on one side an animal resembling a dragon, instead of foliage. The roof of the belfry is groined, with carved bosses at the



intersections of the ribs. The aisles are separated from the nave by pointed arches. On the west side of two of the columns, and opposite each other, are niches for figures. It is probable that the chancel once extended as far as these niches, and that the inequality of the arches is due to this cause. The chancel is elevated three steps. The font is of perpendicular work, and octagon in shape. On the sides are carved in relief the incidents of Christ's passion. There are two monumental brasses, one dated 1563, the other 1592. In the south aisle is also a tablet to the memory of Captain Thomas Delves, who was one of the barons who bore the canopy over King Charles II at his coronation—date 1669. The two cannon balls embedded in the tower on the south side were fired on the town by the French and Dutch in 1720. The height of the tower is 53 feet; from the western wall to the chancel steps is 104 feet in length; width of nave, including aisles, 66 feet; size of chancel, 24 feet by $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The fittings of the church are sadly incongruous, and much dilapidated. Of the taste displayed, it is sufficient to say that the chancel ceiling is painted with a representation of the heavenly regions as those realms were imagined in the time of King George I.

This church is placed on the western side of the valley, which, according to the popular notion, contains the oldest part of Hastings; but the part which, in fact, was at the time of the Norman conquest the "New Burg."

Descending into High-street, which runs along the bottom of the valley, attention was directed to some ancient half-timbered houses. One of them bears the Pelham buckle, and the date 1610.

Proceeding a little further inland, the church of All Saints was visited, which Mr. Durrant Cooper has shewn was in 1436 called "the new church." The structure is all of late date. It consists of a nave with two aisles, a western tower, and a large chancel. In the chancel there is a triple sedilia, and in the porch an interesting water-stoup with panelled shaft and base. A monument bearing two figures, male and female, at the east end of the north aisle, has now no date; but in Dr. Richard Rawlinson's account the date is given, 1458. Dr. Greenhill drew attention to the registers, which date from the first half of the fifteenth century, and pointed out that the infamous Titus Oates was christened here. For this unpleasant association, the church and the town are not responsible. But the squalid neglect to which, to all appearance, the place is abandoned, was observed with reprehension and regret both by the townsmen and visitors present.

The East Hill was then ascended, and Mr. Cole led the party to the earthworks, the nature of which was explained by a diagram and description prepared by S. Sharpe, Esq. :

On climbing the East Hill by the flight of stairs which leads from

the Fish Market through Tackleway, and directing our footsteps to the highest ground, we come to a garden enclosed within a bank of earth, hardly important enough to claim much notice. Walking on eastward, about a hundred and twenty yards further, we meet with a high bank running from north to south. On climbing to the top of it we see that it is clearly a work of art; that it is far too high and too large to have been made for any purpose of agriculture, and that it can be nothing but the remains of an old camp. It is at the edge of the hill, which was naturally steep, and is made yet more so by this lofty earth-mound. It is the eastern wall of the hill-top, and it runs down to the edge of the cliff. On the north side of the hill-top, the artificial nature of the bank, or edge of the hill, is equally clearly marked, particularly towards the north-east corner. Here, as on the east side, the natural strength of the position has been improved by a mound, though it is now partly broken down. On the west side the traces of the mound are but faint, and are such that they would be wholly overlooked if we were not driven to search for them by the necessity of the case; by our belief that the hill-top, so strongly walled on two sides, must have been equally well guarded on the other two. On the south side, towards the edge of the cliff, the camp can have had no need of any work of art to strengthen it. It may have had a slight mound to mark its limits; more could not have been wanted. Such a slight mound we now find, but whether ancient or modern is doubtful. We thus, however, trace with very reasonable certainty an enclosed camp of irregular shape, of which the north side, following the edge of the hill, was about three or four hundred yards long and the length of the other two sides possibly about the same. On the east side, and on a great part of the north side, the high mounds, by which the natural steepness of the hill has been increased, remain in full proof of their purpose. There seem to have been two gates: one near the north-west corner, and one at the north-east corner, where there is a road for a cart."

"The garden which is in the middle of this enclosure, is an exact rectangle, measuring about ninety yards by thirty. The mound by which it is surrounded is in many places so unimportant that it might be thought to have been thrown up by the gardener, or at least by some former gardener, simply as a fence or hedge round his vegetables." Mr. Cole explained that this garden was known to have been the site of St. George's Church; and though his friend, Mr. Sharpe, had supposed it might have been a small Roman fortification placed within a British camp, there was nothing which, to his mind, justified that supposition.

Mr. Cole then gave the following interesting account of the excavations made by Mr. Alderman T. Ross:—

"Having seen a map of Sussex in Chichester Cathedral whereon was delineated a round tower at the western point of the east hill, I

was induced to excavate, in hopes of finding the foundations of the tower. I was soon rewarded for my pains by the discovery of the foundations of a wall running east and west for about one hundred feet, with an angular bend towards the south, terminated by the cliff. This, I presume, was the remains of the tower depicted in the map. The southern walls had disappeared with the fall of the cliff. I cut several trenches across the hill within the wall and came to a cist or stone coffin. This was roughly built of Caen stone, which appeared to have been the splay of a window. The lid was formed of two slabs of Tilgate stone; but it contained no remains, or any appearance of having been disturbed. Many human bones were continually thrown up from the trenches, which varied from eighteen inches to two feet deep; but no more coffins were discovered. In the circular or west end of the building the bodies lay almost touching each other at the depth of two feet. Here nothing was found but skeletons; but at three feet and a half to four feet a different form of sepulchre was used. The bodies lay on charcoal two inches in thickness, and by the right side of each were what appeared to be iron rivets, having a head at both ends about the size of a halfpenny, with the remains of wood attached. Each body had besides five or six large-headed nails roughly made. Under each skull was an oyster-shell, in the hollow of which the skull rested. Three of them differed in the mode of sepulture, the head resting on a hollow boulder from the sea-shore, which was neatly paved round with small pieces of sand-rock, also from the sea-shore (being perforated with shell-fish): these had the appearance of having undergone the action of fire on the spot, but the skeletons had not. Two or three of the jaw-bones appear to have been divided by a sharp instrument. These I have preserved, together with a skull of extraordinary thickness, the bone being seven-tenths of an inch in the section. The number of skeletons brought to light could not be less than forty. The form of sepulture is so different from any that I have heard of that I have kept a few of the rivets, nails, etc., as relics of the same. It is curious that sandstone from the *sea-shore* should be brought up the hill more than two hundred feet when it abounded on the *spot*. It was by the kind permission of the Countess Waldegrave that I was enabled to excavate the ruin."

Mr. Ross himself pointed out the place of his discoveries at the south-west point of the hill; and a gentleman present, probing the ground with his stick, drew out a bone, the *radius* of a human arm.

Returning through the town, the place called the Mercer's Bank, in front of the sea at the bottom of All Saints Street, was pointed out by Mr. Ross as the place where the mercers or merchants of old did congregate to transact business with foreigners, and where the former also had their bank, as indicated by its preserved appellation.

Continuing their course round to the foot of Great Bourne Street, the archaeologists came in view of a remnant of the old town wall, which being built into a house at the corner of Winding Street and Bourne Street, projected sufficiently therefrom to mark its direction, and its proximity to the ancient sea-gate and Mercer's Bank. The wall, by its now disjointed relics, was traced, eastward by a rather large portion south of the narrow thoroughfare which divides East Bourne Street from Pleasant Row, and, westward, by an equally considerable portion at the back of Burfield's coal yard in John Street. On the inner or town side of the last-named portion of the wall it was an old custom (as explained by Mr. Ross) to choose the mayor, with certain rites and penalties, according to the declared willingness or otherwise of the person intended to fill the office. The spot in question (now and for a long time past covered with buildings) is known in modern phraseology as the Winding Lane, but to natives of the "old school" as the "Willin Lan." Pursuing a westward course along John Street to its junction with George Street, Mr. Ross pointed out the probable site of the ancient drawbridge and the course of a river (Bourne), the latter being in the direction of the two streets just named, to an outlet near the site of the present Albion Hotel. To this last-named spot one portion of the company hastened, to take a peep at those well-known piles and stones which mark the site of the old pier, and which, as the *débris* of its destruction, have withstood the ravages of time and tide for a period of 270 years.

To ascend from the Pier ruins to the Castle ruins was but the work of a few minutes. The Castle gates having been closed against the public for that day, the archaeologists were, for the nonce, masters of the situation. Taking his stand within that part of the ruins known as the chapel, Mr. Gant read a paper descriptive of the size, shape, and history of the Castle, in which he expressed an opinion that the fortress had an existence before the Norman conquest. Mr. Roberts and Mr. Godwin differed in opinion from some of the views expressed by Mr. Gant, both of them inclining to the belief that, whatever might have existed before the time of the Normans in the form of earth-works, there was nothing in the present ruins that pointed to an earlier date than the Conquest, if, indeed, a still more recent date would not be assigned to it. The outer walls discovered some perplexing Norman features. The chancel arch, on the testimony of gentlemen present, had been rebuilt within memory. The most probable period of its original age was judged by the speakers to be about the close of the thirteenth century. A somewhat animated conversation then followed, in which the Earl of Chichester, Mr. T. H. Cole, the Rev. T. Vores, Mr. Alderman Ross, Mr. Scrivens, and other gentlemen took part.

The Association dined in the evening at the Castle Hotel, where the

Earl of Chichester presided, supported by F. Ticehurst, Esq., the Mayor of Hastings, and Sir Sibbald D. Scott, Bart. At half-past eight, p.m., a meeting was held at the Town Hall, Patrick Robinson, Esq., M.P., in the chair. J. R. Planché, Esq., *Somerset Herald*, read a paper on the Bayeux tapestry, which was heard with the greatest interest, and is printed at full, p. 134 *ante*. It was illustrated by a full-sized drawing of nearly the whole roll, made by J. C. Savery, Esq., the exhibition of which materially enhanced the value of Mr. Planché's description. The Chairman, the Mayor, G. Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. and E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., made some remarks, in the course of which the interesting treatment the subject had received at the hands of Mr. Planché, was handsomely acknowledged.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 21.

The interesting towns of Rye and Winchelsea were the subjects of this day's examination.

A large excursion party arrived at Rye soon after eleven o'clock. G. Slade Butler, Esq., F.S.A., at once led the way to the fine church, and gave an excellent account of it. It is dedicated to St. Mary. It consists of a nave with north and south aisles, transepts with a central tower, and a fine chancel with a large chantry aisle on each side; that to the south dedicated to St. Nicholas, the north to St. Clare. In the transepts there are some remains of Norman work, but most of the church is of the first half of the thirteenth century, subject to later alterations. A very few years ago both chantries were shut off from the chancel, that to the south being used as a school-room, the other as a parish lumber-store. The congratulations of the meeting were warmly expressed to the Rev. Barrington S. Wright at the improvement effected. A curious little vaulted apartment in the angle formed by the south transept and nave aisle was noticed. It seems to have formed a porch, though in an unusual position, or may have been, as described by Mr. Butler, a chantry. The arcades of the chancel are lofty and elegant; those of the nave are more massive, and are still much obstructed by galleries. There is a south porch to the nave. The porch is nearly square, with the roof ceiled, and was formerly used as a burying-place. Robert Crouche, who was mayor of Rye in the years 1491 and 1495, by his testament, dated 4th August, 1497, leaves his soul to God the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, and his body to be buried in the church burying-place in the south porch of the parish church at Rye, aforesaid, and bequeathing to the high altar there of the same, for tythes by me forgotten (*pro decimis meis oblitis*)

six shillings and eightpence. The exterior of the church is particularly picturesque. A large flying buttress at the east end is very quaint and interesting in effect. Many of the weatherings and tablings to the buttresses and pinnacles are ornamented with the imitations of tile covering so common on the works of Norman date at Caen. Attention was next called to what appears to be a fourteenth century work—a fragment of the domestic buildings of a Carmelite friary outside the churchyard on the south side. The party then assembled at Ypres Castle, a square tower with turrets at the angles, erected on the town wall by William Ypres, Earl of Kent, the most striking remnant of that fortification. Immediately below it is a modern battery, the place which, from the time of Queen Elizabeth, has borne the name of the Gun Gardens. From it an excellent view is obtained of Romney Marsh. F. H. Appach, Esq., M.A., took this opportunity to explain the formation of the marsh, which he described as, wholly alluvial deposit of historic times, except about Romsey, where there is a slight elevation on the ground formed by an older clay. This, he said, must have been an island about which the marsh has formed in the whole estuary from Hythe to Winchelsea. The next object of attraction was a fine Elizabethan timber house in Mermaid Street, the residence of Jeakes, the historian of the cinque ports, with his store opposite. Jeakes, among his other attainments, appears to have acquired a knowledge of astrology, a testimony to which is found in the fact that in the erection of this store-house a horoscope of the heavens at the laying of the foundation was engraved thereon, the centre of which has the following—

JUNII 13, 1689
 CULMINANTE
 SOLE
 JACTUM FUIT HEJUS
 REPOSITORYI
 FUNDAMENTUM
 CÆLO SE SIC
 HABENTE

From Jeakes' house the party proceeded to the Strand Gate at the west end of Mermaid Street. The gate is now pulled down, and is a mere breach in the western part of the walls, the town arms, once surmounting the archway, and now built into the wall adjoining, being the only fragment left. From thence to the Mint was but a short distance, and here Mr. Butler explained that the last money tokens or brass farthings were issued in 1670. Continuing their course to West Street the archæologists were shown an old mansion with its still handsome door, over which were inserted the Tudor roses. Yet higher up the same street was a smaller house whose proprietor claims for it a still earlier date, and the excellent state of preservation of which

would seem to warrant a future existence equal to its past. Mr. Holloway, the well-known antiquary of Rye, thus describes it:—

“The oldest house in Rye we take to be the one situated in West Street, the property of Mr. Charles Thomas, our worthy letter-carrier, to whom, and to his father before him, every antiquary is indebted for the admirable manner in which they have preserved its original character. This house appears pretty clearly to be only a portion of one originally of much larger dimensions, the characteristic features of which are a front to the eastward, composed of upright timbers with plaster between them, having several small windows, while in the centre are two projecting ones, much larger, each longitudinally divided, with five compartments in each division, while between these two windows—that is above the top of the lower, and beneath the sill of the upper—are seen three rude diamonds of wood with the centre of each filled up with plaster, and each diamond divided from the other by a vertical piece of timber. Such are the simple outlines of this dwelling, a remarkable instance of one full four hundred years old, still in good repair, habitable, and inhabited.”

Some ancient charters were exhibited at the Town Hall, and explained by the venerable archæologist, Mr Holloway, the historian of Romney Marsh. After a seasonable refreshment, at which, on behalf of Peter Broad, Esq., the Mayor (absent from illness), J. Vidler, Esq., presided, Mr. Butler conducted the party to a most interesting ruin—the church of a small Austin Friary in the north part of the town. The church has fine windows with flowing tracery, and, though used as a store, is in almost perfect condition. It exhibits the peculiarity of the fraternity with whom it originated, in the absence of a tower, which their rule made inadmissible. A well, or spring, with some historic associations from a visit paid to it in 1573 by Queen Elizabeth, near to the site of a priory of St. Bartholomew, was visited. This priory has wholly disappeared, but the saint, the patron of causeways, had his place here close to the road which connects the hill on which Rye so picturesquely rises above the marsh with the mainland. A short inspection of the fine gateway in the town wall at the end of this causeway concluded the inspection, and barely left time to thank their able and intelligent *cicerone*, Mr. Slade Butler, for his skilful kindness.

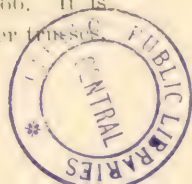
At Winchelsea a hearty reception awaited the members. The mayor, with his mace-bearers, received them at the Ferry Gate, and Sir Charles Boughton, Bart., V.P., had to acknowledge at once the cordial kindness of the mayor, S. Griffiths, Esq. From this ancient gateway R. Curteis Stileman, Esq., led the party, and by permission of the Rev. J. West conducted them to the church and pointed out the features of interest. It is a fragment of a church, and a fragment of

extreme beauty. The chancel divided from its two aisles by arcades of singular elegance of the thirteenth century is all that remains in use; the transepts are in ruin; the nave utterly gone. The similarity of the windows to those at Chart, in Kent, which are of very unusual design, and the likeness of the arcades to those in the bishop's chapel at Bishop Auckland in Durham were noticed. Those at Winchelsea were erected not long before the year 1300, and the precision with which their age can be ascertained enhances their value as examples. The rich series of monumental effigies which adorns the aisles does not appear to have been very closely examined as to the persons represented, and it was suggested to refer this subject to Mr. Planché's further consideration. The chancel of the church of the Grey Friars was next visited,—a beautiful work of the thirteenth century, with apsidal east end, standing in the grounds of the gentleman who on this occasion acted as guide. It must have belonged to a very considerable building. An inspection of two of the town gates concluded the labours of the excursionists, who tendered their hearty thanks to the mayor and to Mr. Stileman for their hospitable kindness.

Sir Sibbald David Scott, Bart., F.S.A., presided at the evening meeting, at which a paper of great learning and research was read by F. H. Appach, Esq., M.A., on the landing of Julius Cæsar. The lecturer contended that the spot chosen for his disembarkation was near to Appledore, to admit which theory it must of course be held that Romney Marsh was then sea over which he sailed. Sir Sibbald Scott ably reviewed the opinions held on this subject, but did not assent to Mr. Appach's view. The lecturer's subject has received renewed interest from the recently expressed opinion of the Emperor of the French, who takes Cæsar's army to the other side of the Foreland near to Walmers. Edward Leven, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., followed with a paper on the History of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in the Castle, Hastings, which is given at length at page 124, *ante*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22.

The excursion this day was to Mayfield, nine miles distant from Tunbridge Wells; and here, by kind permission of the nuns now in possession of the ancient archiepiscopal palace, E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., undertook the duty of guide. The great St. Dunstan had a residence here, and so the archbishops of Canterbury continued to have, till the reign of Henry VIII. The grand feature of the present structure, the magnificent hall, is the work of Archbishop Islip, 1349-1356. It is 70 feet by 39; and the roof, instead of being carried on timber trusses,



is supported by three arches of masonry which spring from corbels in the side-walls, and span the hall over. Such a mode of construction exists at Ightham Mote in Kent; and not more, perhaps, than two other places in England. Having viewed with admiration this remarkable building, the party explored the mass of apartments at its east end, exhibiting work of the thirteenth century, but for the most part of much later date. In one of the apartments Mr. Roberts discovered the arms of Sir Thomas Gresham, who bought the property soon after Archbishop Cranmer had exchanged it with the king. For the purposes of a Roman Catholic school, the lately ruinous hall has now been roofed and fitted as a chapel, and a massive pile of modern buildings erected at its west end. Mr. Roberts' paper on Mayfield will be given at length in a future *Journal*.

On the return to Hastings a halt was made to view the beautiful church of Etchingham, where the Rev. Mr. Barton, the rector, received the members. Etchingham Church is a valuable example of mediæval architecture, not only from the perfect condition in which it exists, and from the symmetry, beauty, and peculiarity of its design, but from the fact that the date of its erection is precisely known. Sir William Etchingham, who built this church, was interred in it, and upon his brass, which still exists, is recorded the rebuilding of the church and his death in 1388. Full particulars of the building, with excellent illustrations, will be found in vol. ix, p. 344, of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, from the pen of W. Slater, Esq. Spencer Hall, Esq., in his paper "Echyngham of Echyngham," has given the fullest account of the ancient lords of the place.

At the evening meeting Sir Charles Rouse Boughton took the chair. The first paper was by George R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., on Sir Anthony Browne, Standard-bearer to Henry VIII, whose monument was to be viewed the next day in Battle Church. This will be published at full length. T. H. Cole, Esq., M.A. followed, and epitomised his account of numerous historical and antiquarian matters relating to Hastings. This has been given at page 34 *ante*. The Rev. F. H. Arnold, M.A., then gave a lucid account of the nine months' reign of Harold, printed in full at page 157 *ante*. An account of the Battle of Hastings was to have been given by Mark Antony Lower, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., but the evening was already spent, and reference must therefore be made to his published account in the sixth volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. The subject was intended to have been introduced as a preliminary to the Battle Abbey visit on the morrow, and also as presenting particular interest to an Archaeological Association assembled at Hastings in the year of the eighth centenary of that great event.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 23RD.

A large party set out from Hastings in carriages, and made their first halt at Bodiam Castle, a fortress erected by a favoured soldier of fortune, Sir Edward Dalingrudge, at the end of the fourteenth century. Some admirable drawings of the castle, by J. Tavernor Perry, Esq., were exhibited at the lecture-room the previous evening, and the arrangements and history of the castle were explained on the spot by J. Charles Savery, Esq. The building is in the form of a quadrangle, with a flanking tower at each angle and bastion towers in the middle of each side. It is surrounded by a broad and deep moat, still full of water. On the north side is the entrance to the castle, the bastion tower being as it were doubled to form a gateway, in which the portcullis still remains; from the gateway a causeway is formed across the moat, and this causeway is defended by a barbican. There is a postern gate in the middle of the south side, requiring, however, the aid of a boat to cross the moat. Within the castle, the residence filled all sides of the quadrangle. The hall, buttery, and kitchen may be distinguished on the south side of the court; the lord's apartments, with the chapel on the east side, the servants' apartments on the west side, and the guard-rooms on the north, adjacent to the fortifications of the entrance gate. The external walls are almost perfect, but on three sides the interior walls have been in past times nearly destroyed. We hope to give Mr. Savery's paper at length on a future occasion. The next point in the excursion was the Cistercian Abbey of Robertsbridge. This monastery is situated in the valley of the Rother, and near to its banks in the parish of Salehurst. A plan showing the arrangements of the monastery restored, made by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, was exhibited; and Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., explained the subject on the spot. All that is known of the history of the monastery is given in the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society, with some good engravings of the remains. The misfortune is that the parts are there mis-described. It appears that the refectory which occupied the south side of the cloister is still in existence, with parts of the monks' common-room at its east end. Of the west wing of the monastery, enclosing the west side of the cloister, very little remains; but a building attached to its west side for the accommodation of the prior or the guests is very perfect, and occupied as a farm-house. The remains are of the thirteenth century. The church which was to the north of the cloister has wholly disappeared.

The next stage in the journey brought the travellers to Battle, where, having refreshed themselves with a lunch at the George Hotel, they were reinforced by a large assembly of the county gentry and Hastings

townsfolk anxious for this opportunity for a thorough inspection of the monastery. Gordon M. Hills, Esq., the Treasurer of the Association, undertook the guidance of the whole. After passing through the magnificent gatehouse of the monastery, a work of the reign of Edward III, and crossing a beautiful grassy lawn, once the fore-court of the monastery, a halt was made in the great hall of the mansion.

There are very few points of historical interest connected with this monastery, except that great incident, the battle, which just eight hundred years ago had made our country an Anglo-Norman kingdom, and had probably been the most fruitful in events of any of the great battles of the world. On the field of that battle, and in commemoration of his thankfulness for success, the victor founded this monastery. His reign did not, however, suffice to complete it, and the church was dedicated in the reign of his son, William Rufus, in 1094. This fact is almost the only one of which we have any record with respect to the purposes of the buildings. The Battel Abbey chronicle continues down only to the year 1176; and whilst one fragment of the work alone can be pointed out as anterior to that date, the earliest and chief part of the rest is from fifty to one hundred years later, judged by architectural evidences. In the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, it is true, there are ninety-seven volumes of charters, deeds, and ancient account rolls of the monastery; and from the latter (especially the rolls of the sacrist, the officer who had the charge of the buildings) it is certain that many highly interesting particulars could be drawn. These rolls have never been examined, and their situation in a private collection at Cheltenham makes it difficult to do so. At Bury St. Edmund's abundant materials for assigning correctly the various denominations of the buildings were obtained from a great number of notices of incidents which had occurred within the monastery, from account rolls, inventories, and the like; and at Durham were greater facilities, for to all these sources was added the description of a writer who knew the monastery in its perfect state.

At Battel, it so happens that, since the time of Brown Willis, wrong names and misdescriptions of the buildings have arisen, and somehow it is said that the late Mr. Hartshorne, a much-lamented member of of the Association, has added the weight of his name in confirmation of Willis's mistakes. Due respect for Mr. Hartshorne's name required, therefore, that good reason should be given for varying from the descriptions received on the spot. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott had been the first to attempt a correction of the popular notion, and Mr. Hills now reminded the audience, by reference to his plans of Bury St. Edmund's and Durham monasteries, exhibited before them, together with a precise plan of the Battel buildings, of the arrangements common to Benedictine monasteries. Having done this, he stated that in the peram-

bulation of the remains he would adopt the description and nomenclature of the buildings as given by Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, of his own monastery, a little before the time when the Battel chronicle ceased. Eadmer drew a plan of Canterbury, which is still preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was published more than a hundred years ago by the Society of Antiquaries, and has been recently republished by Mr Waleott. Except as to the position of the Guest House, the Battel buildings correspond in almost all particulars with this ancient arrangement at Canterbury.

The western buildings, in which the company first assembled, contained the cellarer's department, with the residence of the abbot and dormitory for the lay domestics. These buildings form the residence or mansion at present inhabited by the Duke of Cleveland. The hall in which the lecture was delivered is a late addition, probably the work of one of the last abbots, and the duke's library is a still later building, erected by the first lay grantees (the Montagues), and in a great measure rebuilt by the present owner. In passing through the beautifully vaulted and groined apartments attention was called to the decorations of which they were susceptible, as evinced in the richly ornamented drawing-room, an apartment vaulted in four bays of two avenues, and the lecturer pointed out the beautiful porch formerly the entrance to the monastery, but now almost buried in the modern kitchen offices. On leaving this block of buildings by its northern end, a lofty mass of wall, about six feet thick, attached to it, forming the south-west angle of the church, was pointed to, this fragment being the only bit of the work left which was consecrated in the time of William Rufus. The church thus formed the north side of the monastery, and the foundation of the south wall of the nave, a fragment of the transept and the walls of a crypt showing the eastern apsidal termination of the church with three radiating chapels were described as all that remains of a church about 315 feet long. From its transept extends the eastern wing of the monastery, specially devoted to the monks themselves. Mr. Hills pointed out the small remains of the chapter-house, the first apartment in this range, and then led the company through a noble series of vaulted apartments, the two common rooms and parlour of the monks—in which he showed how skilfully advantage was taken of the natural fall of the ground to give all the magnificence that could be obtained. These rooms are vaulted partly in two and partly in three avenues. Above them was the dormitory of the monks (locally misnamed the refectory), the walls of which are still perfect. The ancient refectory extended between this wing and the west wing, the part first inspected. Attached to the west wing is still seen one end of this hall, very richly ornamented with arcades and panelling of the thirteenth century, and the whole west side of the cloister is here also

seen to have been panelled with beautiful arcading of the thirteenth century, altered with enrichments of the fifteenth. An inspection of the vaults beneath the ancient guest hall (the hall itself is destroyed) concluded the survey of the monastic buildings. In passing out through the gateway, it was shown that a small part of this mass of buildings belongs to the Norman period. Mr. Hills' paper, with illustrations, will be given on a future occasion. The company then reassembled in the parish church, when a call was made for Professor Willis, who had been present during the inspection of the abbey, but that gentleman not presenting himself, the Dean of Battle alluded to the chief features of interest. The church was erected, as its architecture indicates, early in the thirteenth century, and has additions of almost all subsequent Mediæval styles. It has a fine western tower, two aisles to the nave, a fine Early Pointed chancel, and two chantries. The Dean asked for suggestions as to the meaning of a very peculiar hagioscope window in the north aisle, and some arched recesses at the east end of the same aisle; and on re-assembling in his grounds, where he handsomely invited the whole company to partake of refreshment, a discussion ensued—from which it would appear that the arches were the accidental accompaniments to the stairs of the rood loft, and that the hagioscope window indicated the existence at some time of a north porch, with a chamber over it. Sir Charles Boughton returned thanks in the name of the Association for the hospitality of the Dean.

At the evening meeting W. Scrivens, Esq., took the chair. The papers were,—an interesting one on the Ironworks of Sussex, by J. Charles Savery, Esq., and an elaborate one on the Earls of Sussex, by J. R. Planché, Esq., Somerset Herald, in which that gentleman dealt most carefully with the difficulties of the early history of the title. The latter has been given at page 21 *ante*; we hope to return to the former on a future occasion.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24TH.

The excursion was to Pevensey, where the only failure of fine weather occurred during the week. The rain almost prevented the inspection of this most interesting castle. A short and pleasant detention occurred on the road, where Major Lane and Mr. Simpson, the clergyman of Bexhill, brought the party to a stand to examine the church there, and to partake of some refreshments.

Is Pevensey the Anderida of the Romans? was long much disputed. The Sussex Archaeological Society has adopted the affirmative, and must be regarded as a high authority on the subject. In this opinion, too, most antiquaries now agree, and it is well known that such is

the opinion of Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A.; F.S.A., one of the Vice-Presidents, but whose presence now was prevented. Anderida is only twice mentioned by Roman writers. Its destruction, in 491, by Ella and Cissa, the founders of the South Saxon dominion, is recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and enlarged upon by Henry of Huntingdon in the twelfth century, when its ruins appeared to travellers as of a once noble city—the city which gave the name of Andreds-wald to the vast tract of forest which lay behind it stretching into Hampshire to the west, and to the German Ocean on the east. Before the eighth century, from some Saxon chief, it had the name of Peven's-isle (*ea*). It continued a sea-port, and became united to the cinque ports, though now lost in a marsh. It was the landing-place of William the Conqueror, and fell to the possession of his half-brother, Robert Count of Mortaigne. At the south-eastern extremity of the old city Count Robert raised his Norman castle on the old Roman city walls, which extended from that point and enclosed the city, now become the Norman castle bailey in the form of a rounded oblong. A good deal of the south walls have disappeared. At the west end the old decuman gate exhibits excellent Roman masonry in its two bastion towers; eight other such bastions still remain in the circuit of the wall. The area contained is about ten acres; of this the Norman castle occupies about one acre and a-half. Its bastion towers imitate in form the Roman work; there is also much indication of later work than Norman about it, and also of a Roman structure—the citadel which preceded it. A chapel stood in the middle of the inner bailey; Pevensey church lies outside the old walls to the east as West-ham does opposite to it.

The Rev. Henry Browne, the vicar, gave the following account of Pevensey Church:—

“The church is dedicated to S. Nicolas. ‘Pevensey S. Nicolas’ is the ancient name of this parish; ‘Pevensey S. Mary’ of the parish of Westham. These two, and part of Hailsham, form the ‘town’ of Pevensey. At what time the ‘rectorial chancel’ was separated from the body of the church there is no record to show; certainly before the Reformation. By ancient use the commoners of this cinque-port town assemble on the Monday after Michaelmas-day in the disused chancel to elect their bailiff for the ensuing year, admit new commoners, and appoint new jurats (if need be). The bailiff and jurats remain at the west end of the church to receive the report of the elections and decide upon the same. The benefice is a vicarage; the rectory since the death of the last incumbent is in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The oldest register, shamefully mutilated, bears date 1575 on its first remaining leaf. According to a date inside the cover it commenced 1565.

“The most important names connected with the parish then, and

for a century later, appear to have been Milward, Rowe, Acheson, Sampson (de Ninfield).

"The names of the vicars to be traced in this register are: John Acheson, d. 1637; Dr. Thomas, vicar in 1653; Mr. Alexander Henderson, d. 1691; Simon Manningham, LL.D., to June, 1767; John Nicols, D.D., resigned Dec., 1767; Matthias D'Oyley, D.D., to cir. 1805; (Sir) John Ashburnham, to 1854; Henry Browne, from 1854.

"The communion plate is modern, except one small dish for the alms.

"The bells (three), of excellent tone, are inscribed: 1. *Nomen Domini sit benedictum*; 2. Roger Tapuk made me, T.W., D.F., 1633; 3. William Hull made me, 1676—Edward Millward (bailiffe), Samuel Lyne (curate), Edward Martin, Thomas Anger (C.W.).

"It should be observed that the circumstances of this parish in respect of church-rates are very peculiar, almost unique. The land is held by upwards of two hundred persons scattered over more than eighty different parishes. Not fifty acres are owned or rented by residents in this parish. The rates, therefore, are collected for the most part from persons holding only a few acres, and not otherwise interested in the parish. Hence the rate obtained at the annual meeting is always a minimum—only sufficient for ordinary repairs and the bare necessities of public worship. There are also no great land-owners who could be expected to contribute largely to the restoration of the church. Under these circumstances all that we, the residents, can do is to keep the church clean and decent within and without. The font with its cover, the carved oak rails of desk and pulpit, the almsbox in the porch, are the work of our excellent churchwarden, Mr. Major Vidler, and his son, Mr. Albert Vidler, and were by them presented to the church."

In the afternoon the weather became more propitious, and an examination was made of that charmingly picturesque ruin the Castle of Hurstmonceaux. At this place, as well as at Pevensey, the guidance of the party was ably managed by T. H. Cole, Esq., of Hastings. In the evening, by invitation of the Mayor of Hastings, F. Ticehurst, Esq., a large number of the principal families of the town were assembled to meet the members of the Association, and an interesting account of the ancient annual visits of the Bailiffs of the Cinque Ports to the great herring fair at Yarmouth, was given by Mr. Alderman Ross; some of the original journals of the bailiffs, together with other muniments of the town and cinque ports being exhibited on a table in the room.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25TH.

The closing meeting was held at Lewes. The Association was met by the High Constables of Lewes, Edward Chatfield, Esq., and Henry

Jeffery, Esq., and by Lord Pelham, on behalf of the Earl of Chichester, with a large number of the members of the Sussex Archaeological Society, who most kindly and handsomely entertained the whole party at luncheon. M. A. Lower, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., the well-known Sussex antiquary, undertook the guidance of the meeting, and led in succession to the barbican and keep of the castle; to St. John's Church, where the inscription to a Danish chief was much discussed; to the ancient vaults under the Star Hotel; to the fine Elizabethan house of the Newton, now occupied by Mr. Wyndham; to Southover Church, where the highly interesting remains of the tomb and leaden chests containing the bones of William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada, daughter of William the Conqueror, were viewed. The barbican by which the castle bailey is entered on the south side is a fine specimen of architecture of the middle of the fourteenth century, a lofty and massive tower gateway protected by turrets, and once well closed with a double portcullis. The hill on which the castle stands is made yet higher by one of those ancient and vast mounds which the Saxons formed in their strongholds; on this mound the keep is placed. The keep has four octagonal flanking towers, but possesses very little remains of an architectural character. In one of the towers, however, is preserved an interesting collection of local antiquities, for the barbican and keep are tenanted and cared for by the Sussex Archaeological Society. The collection is small, but very characteristic, and far more valuable here than it would be if dispersed into different or larger collections at a distance. On entering the garden of Robert Crosskey, Esq., to inspect a part of the bailey wall, that gentleman dispensed some most refreshing and agreeable evidences of the hospitality of the place. St. John's Church is a modern affair on an ancient site. At its east end are built in two interesting memorials of the ancient church, viz., on the north side the masonry of a door, a most valuable and perfect example of a work of pre-Norman date; on the south side the stone architrave of a semicircular arch, which, down to 1635, belonged to the chancel arch of the old church, and was then removed to the south wall. In 1839, at the instance of Mr. Lower, it again escaped destruction, and was placed where it is now seen. It would seem from the inscription that near to it originally lay the remains of a Danish chieftain, Magnus, who became an anchorite. Much of the inscription was recut in the seventeenth century, but there is abundant evidence of its originating as far back as the twelfth. When it was fixed in 1635 a tombstone of a century later than the inscription was placed with it, and this was allowed to retain its position in 1839. It would be well that the two memorials, which have nothing to do with one another, should be separated. The somewhat mutilated ancient round tower of St. Michael's church was noticed. The leaden cists containing the bones of Gundrada and her

husband, William de Warenne, were discovered in Lewes Priory, of which they were the founders, on October 28th, 1845. At some very remote period the bones had been placed in these cists, having for some reason been removed after interment, probably in the thirteenth century. Till the dissolution the magnificent tombstone which covered the remains of Gundrada lay in the chapter house; in 1775 it was discovered in Isfield church, and brought back to Southover Church to the very gateway of Lewes Priory: the discovery of 1845 enabled it to be reunited to the remains it commemorated, and some patriotic archaeologists raised over these remains the protection of a beautiful little chapel or sacellum.

After luncheon Mr. Lower gave the history of the great Clugniac Priory of Hastings; the small remnants were viewed, and a careful plan was exhibited, made by Mr. Parsons before the railway, twenty years ago, broke up a considerable portion of the church. The suggestions of Mr. Walcott, Mr. Hills, and Mr. Roberts, as to the arrangements of the monastery, were discussed, and the proceedings of the week were finally brought to a close, not, however, until the thanks of the guests had been very heartily tendered to their friends of the Sussex Society for their most friendly entertainment and instructive programme.

Time did not permit a view of the battle-field of Lewes, but the swelling downs overlooking the town on the east side, where the battle between Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Royalists occurred in 1264, stood boldly out amidst the striking scenery surveyed from the Castle mound. Attention may be called to the excellent account of this battle given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864, p. 592.

Proceedings of the Association.

(Continued from page 108.)

MARCH 13TH, 1867.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced:—

H. Kettle, Esq., 6, Champion Place, Camberwell.

John Leech, Esq., High Street, Wisbech.

Rev. William Lees Bell, Braxted Cottage, Brixton Hill.

Edward Bowring, Esq., Mole Bank, East Moulsey.

Thanks were voted to the Society of Antiquaries for the following presents:—

Archæologia, part 40. 4to.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, parts I, II, vol. 3. 8vo.

The consideration of the inscription *III S* on a Roman tile from Cirencester (see p. 102, *ante*) was resumed.

The Chairman expressed his regret that as yet he was unable to produce the fragment of Roman flue tile with the letters *III S* found at Cirencester, and of which a drawing by Mr. J. T. Irvine was exhibited at the last meeting; but in confirmation of the accuracy of that gentleman's eye, and the truthfulness of his pencil, the Chairman read a note from Canon Powell, in which the reverend gentleman says, "The tile has certainly *III S* on it, but what that means I know not." Mr. Irvine believes these initials were intended for the sacred monogram, and called attention to the fact of the well-known cipher composed of the Greek letters X and P, occurring on the Roman pavement at Frampton, Dorsetshire, and exhibited Lyson's plates of this magnificent mosaic in support of his views. But it must be borne in mind that the Cirencester tiles were never intended to be exposed like the Frampton pavement, but the mark, like the maker's marks impressed on other tiles, was covered up in the building.

The Rev. Dr. Giles suggested two other meanings which the inscription might bear. It had somewhat the appearance of *III S*, for *three sestertii*, or it might be connected with the Roman sign for money, *H. S.*

The Rev. W. S. Simpson, Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., and Mr. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., felt the difficulty of attaching a sacred significance to the inscription. Mr. J. W. Grover, however, was inclined to regard it with great interest from the opposite feeling which he entertained.

Mr. Wimble exhibited a terra-cotta ampulla-shaped lamp, with a stem at base to fit into a socket of a *lantern*. It was exhumed towards the close of last year with other Roman relics in Coleman Street.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson remarked on the existence of other examples. One from Alexandria is now in the British Museum. Illustrations of them will be found in Roach Smith's *Roman London*, p. 81; *Artis Durobrivæ*, plate 54, fig. 2; Fiedler, *Denkmäler von Castra Vetera . . . Xanten*, plate 36, which represents a kiln surrounded by lamps of this type.

Mr. T. Gunston, Mr. Cecil Brent, and Mr. J. W. Bailey each spoke of an example from London in his own possession, and Mr. Josiah Cato has one in grey paste from Cologne.

Mr. G. C. Teniswood exhibited a small reddish terra-cotta Romano-British lamp, with a mark or impression on the under part not half



inch long, like the impression of a pair of little sandals. It was found in Cannon Street.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a *dupondius* of Nero found in the Steel Yard, Upper Thames Street. *Ob.*, bust of the Emperor to the right—NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMAN. *Rev.*, standing figure of Apollo dividing the letters S. C. *Legend*, PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. IMP. P. P. What renders this coin remarkable is that it is counter-struck across the neck with the initials S. P. Q. R., in the same way as on a piece of Nero's given in Cooke's *Medallie History*, vol. i, p. 490, fig. 16. These letters frequently occur on the shield held by Victory on the reverses of the coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Trajan.

Mr. Gunston further produced four pewter brooches of the fourteenth century, found in London. 1. A disc one inch and a-half in diameter, device a cross fleurie with open centre, within a quatrefoil with oillets in the cusps, surrounded by a border of chevrons and oillets. The middle of this brooch bears a strong resemblance to the reverses of some of the early French jettons. 2. A monkey standing erect on the back of a fish, and holding a staff with both hands. On the creature's head is a hood with a *liripipe* hanging at back. 3. Richly caparisoned elephant with a castle on its back, much like an example in the British Museum. 4. Cat with a rat in its mouth, standing on a label inscribed VIS. IS. MU (*This is new*). London is just now overrun with fac-similes of this cat, of very superior workmanship—so good indeed that they may deceive the unwary.

Mr. Gunston added to the above exhibition that of a Russian portable altar of cast brass. It is a triptich, the central compartment having on it a half-length nimbed effigy of the saint-bishop "*Tikhon*," with flowing beard, holding in his right hand a roll or volume. On the front of the saint's hood and on each shoulder of the amice is a cross, and the stole is also ornamented with crosses. Each volet is divided into three panels, one above the other, and in each panel are two demi-figures of saints, eight of them being superscribed with their names. Above the centre is a small panel displaying the *sudarium*, and at the back of this is a loop by which the triptich may be suspended.

It is difficult to fix the date of this and such like altars, for though they are unquestionably of early type, the workmanship may be modern. Great numbers of such altars have found their way to England since the Crimean war. For a brief notice of Russian altars see *Journal*, vii, 166.

The Rev. W. Simpson offered some remarks on the subject of these Russian "icons," and at the request of the meeting promised to bring forward an extended notice of the subject on an early day.

Mr. Blashill exhibited two items lately found in Holborn Valley, the earliest being a German counter of the sixteenth century. *Ob.*, con-

joined triangle and trefoil enclosing the monde and cross. *Legend*, GOTES SEGEN MACHT REICH (*God's blessing makes rich*). *Rev.*, three crowns and three fleurs-de-lys alternating in a circle—HANN'S KRAVWINCKEL IN XV. The same devices and motto are seen on the *Rechen's Pfennings* of Wolf Laufer of Nuremberg. The second object from the Holborn Valley, is a Prussian medal of brass, commemorative of the defeat of the French and Austrians at Rosbach and Lissa. *Ob.*, a battle—QUO NIHIL MAJUS MELCUSUE. *Exergue*, ROSBACH NOV. 5. 1757. *Rev.*, equestrian figure of FREDERIC D. G. BORUS REX ET PROTESTANTIM DEFENSOR. *Exergue*, LISSA DEC. 5. Exactly similar designs to the foregoing occur in another Prussian medal reading, *Ob.*, QUO NIHIL MAJUS. *Exergue*, ROSBACH NOV. 5. 1757. *Rev.*, FREDERICUS BORUSSORUM REX. *Exergue*, LISSA DEC. 5. BRESLAU RECEP'TA DEC. 20. 1757.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited a series of daggers exhumed at Brooks' Wharf, in the works of the Thames embankment. The daggers are of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson laid before the meeting a document from the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral. Minutes of "a generall meeting of y^e Cōmissioners in y^e Councill Chamber at Guildhall, on Thursday, July y^e 1st, 1675." The principal business accomplished seems to have been the appointment of a standing committee on the works then in progress at St. Paul's Cathedral. The minutes bear the following highly interesting autograph signatures. Humfr. London [Humfrey Henchman, Bishop, consecrated 15th Sept., 1663, died Oct., 1675]; William Sancroft [Dean, installed 9th Dec., 1664, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, 27th Jan., 1677]; Edward Stillingfleet [who became Dean of St. Paul's 19th Jan., 1677, and was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, 1689]; Sir Charles Harbord, knight; Mr. Auditor Phelips; Christopher Wren; Edward Woodrooffe; Sir James Smyth, knight; Sir Thomas Player, knight; Sir Robert Vyner [the then Lord Mayor]; Dr. Thomas Exton, Chancellor of London; Sir John Cutler, "knight and baronet."

Hillary Davies, Esq., laid before the meeting, through J. R. Planché, Esq., a drawing of a "sepulchral slab" found during the re-pewing of Ateham Church, Shropshire, in 1862; it was discovered under the floor just below the boarding at the west end of the nave, at about twelve feet from the west wall and five feet from the north, lying due east and west. Mr. Davies says:—"You will perceive near the centre what I took to be a shield, and on it what the Hon. Mrs. Henry Burton says is 'a bird;' however, you will be the best judge of that." The cross is, I think, almost unique, if not quite so." This remarkable gravestone will be engraved at a future opportunity.

The Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., through Mr. Gordon M. Hills, submitted an account of the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins at Netley, Hants., as follows:—

"An interesting deposit of Roman coins was found Jan. 7th, 1867, as the workmen were excavating about the depth of two feet for the foundations of a lunatic asylum in the rear of the Netley Hospital, Hants. The coins were contained in two urns, the larger in its widest part seven inches in diameter, three inches wide at the bottom, and the depth from the lip seven inches. The smaller are six inches in diameter and at the base two inches and a-half. The upper portions of both were considerably damaged by the pick-axe, but enough remained to make out the form. A small creek runs in from the east of the Southampton water alongside the high ground in which the urns were found, and there is a beach below where landing from a vessel could be effected. The spot may probably be considered an out-post, or look-out, from the Roman station of Clausentum, from which it is distant about four miles, and, as the ground is nearly level between it and that station, and the site of what was probably the *Castra Æstiva* of Clausentum lies about midway between, information of vessels passing up the Southampton Water might thus be more quickly conveyed to the garrison than through the circuitous route of the River Itchen.

"It is the peculiar advantage of this 'find' of Roman coins that the great bulk of them has been secured for examination, very few comparatively having been appropriated by the labourers, and thus the *relative proportions* of the coins of the respective emperors may be obtained. The head master of the workmen, Mr. Thomas Fearon, immediately on the 'find' took the coins under his care, and conveyed them to the proper authorities at Netley Hospital, and Dr. De Chaumont, one of the Professors of the Army Medical School at that hospital, has carefully catalogued the coins, and has kindly forwarded the list for the information of the British Archæological Association. (Dr. De Chaumont's catalogue is printed in full at page 168 *ante*.) The general result of his examination is as follows:—

1. Valerianus	.	.	2 types	.	.	3 coins
2. Gallienus	.	.	38	„	.	162 „
3. Salonina	.	.	6	„	.	13 „
4. Postumus	.	.	12	„	.	26 „
5. Victorinus	.	.	14	„	.	410 „
6. Marius	.	.	1	„	.	1 „
7. Tetricus senior	.	.	14	„	.	749 „
8. Tetricus junior	.	.	14	„	.	255 „
9. Claudius Gothicus	.	.	34	„	.	186 „
10. Quintillus	.	.	10	„	.	15 „
11. Aurelianus	.	.	1	„	.	1 „

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"The coins have now been forwarded to the Government; they em-

brace a period of about twenty-three years, viz., from A.D. 253 to 275. They are almost without exception billon, and generally in fair condition. About twenty may be marked as rare. The peculiarity most worthy, perhaps, of notice in the 'find' is the very large proportional number of the two Tetricuses. The number of coins of Tetricus senior is 749, and that of Tetricus junior 255, the combined amount of the two being more than half of the whole. This fact, together with the large number of the coins of Victorinus and Claudius Gothicus, is of considerable importance as corroborating the opinion expressed by Mr. Thomas Wright in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, that these emperors assumed the sovereignty in Britain, and 'that the head quarters of Tetricus lay at Clausentum and the neighbouring coasts.'¹ The same preponderance of the coins of Tetricus also prevails in all the 'finds' in the neighbourhood of which we have any reliable information, and further confirms the above conjecture of Mr. Wright. Thus, out of the list of 142 coins belonging to our Associate, Stuart Macnaughten, Esq., found at his residence of Clausentum, which contain the names of 36 emperors, no less than 24, or one-sixth of the whole, bear the name of Tetricus. In a large unnamed 'find' of 1700 Roman coins at Cadenham, of which a few were purchased by our Associate, Robert Jennings, Esq., 4 out of the 6 he obtained were of Tetricus. Of 13 coins found at Sholing, an adjoining parish to Netley, which have come into my own possession, the names, though not the proportionate numbers, are the same as those in the Netley list, and stand: Postumus, 3; Victorinus, 5; Tetricus senior and junior, 3; and Claudius Gothicus, 2. It may be further stated that the 250 coins found at Farringford, in the Isle of Wight, in 1863, were of the time of Gallienus, and that besides his and Salonica's the two Tetricuses, Victorinus, Posthumus, and Claudius Gothicus, are the coins mentioned.² Hampshire has had many losses to its history to regret from the careless dispersion of its numerous hoards of ancient coins, and it is very desirable that large 'finds,' like those at Netley, should be duly registered."

Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited six silver coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II, belonging to Mr. Cripps, churchwarden of Washington, near Steyning, Sussex, being a few of the very numerous coins found in a field in Washington parish. Two or three days before Christmas-day, 1866, some workmen were engaged in breaking up with the plough some meadow land, when suddenly there was cast and scattered into the furrow by the plough a glittering mass to the astonishment of the men. On examination, it appeared that an earthenware vessel had been turned out and broken, and its contents partly

¹ P. 112, Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.

² British Archaeological Journal, vol. xix, p. 306.

scattered. Mr. Cripps was at once informed of the circumstance; and, with the assistance of other gentlemen, collected most of the coins, and gave the information which has led to their being placed in the British Museum. Mr. Cripps estimates that the vessel contained about 2,500 coins; they were in excellent condition, but those near the sides of the crock were corroded and united together by a waxy bright green substance, conjectured by some to be the remains of a leather bag in which they may have been put within the crock.

The following notice of the find by Mr. J. B. Bergne, was then read:—

“The six coins which came from the hoard discovered at Washington, in Sussex, shortly before last Christmas, are of Edward the Confessor (5) and Harold II (1). The deposit may, therefore, be considered to have been made shortly before the battle of Hastings, probably as a measure of precaution against troubles apprehended from the Norman invasion, by some one who never had the opportunity to reclaim his buried treasure. The types, moneyers, and mints are:—

“*Edward the Confessor*.—1. Ruding, plate 24, No. 3; Hawkins, No. 219; LEOFFINE ON HÆSTING (Hastings). 2. Ruding, plate 24, No. 9; Hawkins, No. 222; NORMAN ON STENIG (Steyning).¹ Neither moneyer nor mint in Ruding’s list. 3. Ruding, plate 25, No. 1; Hawkins, No. 228; ANDERBODA ON PINC (Winchester). 4. Ruding, plate 25, No. 26; GODRIC ON LVND (London). 5. Ruding, plate 25, No. 31; Hawkins, No. 225; ÆLFARD ON LVNDE (London).

“*Harold II*.—6. Ruding, plate 26, No. 3; Hawkins, No. 230; DERMON ON STENI (Steyning).¹

“These coins are all of well-known types. Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 are, perhaps, the commonest of the Confessor. No. 3, which is of what is called the Sovereign type, because it has, instead of the mere bust, the full length figure of the king seated on his throne, and the Harold, are less common than the others, but cannot be deemed rare.

“There were specimens of at least one other type of the Confessor (Ruding, plate 25, Nos. 21 to 25) among the hoard. Whether there were any of the extremely rare types, No. 11 of plate 24, and No. 25 of plate 25, I have not learnt. The former has the word PAX across the field of the reverse, and being in other respects a good deal like the coins of Harold II, is probably the last coinage of the Confessor. No. 25 again is identical in reverse with No. 4 of the specimens under description, and the obverse is something like No. 5 in character. Examples of both these types might, therefore, be reasonably expected to occur in a large hoard such as that discovered at Washington.

¹ The mint STENI is attributed to Stamford by Ruding in his list of the mints of Harold II, but is far more likely to be Steyning. This latter attribution is confirmed by the present “find,” distant not more than six or seven miles from the town of Steyning.

"I have been informed that the bulk of the find, consisting of about 1,650 coins, has been sent to the British Museum, and that some hundreds are known to have been dispersed, so that the whole hoard consisted probably of about 2,300. They are chiefly from mints in the southern part of England.

"I have only to add that the coins are as fresh as when struck, have evidently never been in circulation, and are unusually free from oxidation or dust."

Mr. Hills remarked that he had not succeeded in obtaining a piece of the crock, the value of which, as a dated specimen of earthenware, was great; but he had understood that the only portion saved had passed into the possession of the Rev. Mr. Beck, of Storrington.

Mr. J. W. Bailey believed he could obtain a sight of it, and would endeavour to lay it before the next meeting. Mr. Bailey also hoped to obtain an analysis of the green cementing substance spoken of.

MARCH 27.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of Rev. Hugh Prichard, of Dinam, Caerwent, Anglesey, was announced.

Thanks were voted to Theodore Kirchoffer, Esq., for the book presented by him, *Schrijten des Würtemb. Alterthums-Vereins*, 8vo., 1866, containing an Explanation of the Peutingerian Table extending from Windisch to Regensburg (*Vindonissa to Reginum*), and from Pfin to Augsburg (*Ad fines to Augusta Vindelicarum*).

The Rev. W. S. Simpson read his promised paper on Russo-Greek Icons which is printed at p. 113 *ante*. Mr. H. S. Cuming added four examples to those produced by Mr. Simpson. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., remarked on the great antiquity of appearance borne by most of the examples, and Mr. G. M. Hills reminded the meeting of the unchangeable character of ecclesiastical art in the Greek Church, so that one thousand years have produced but little change or variety. Mr. Simpson, in addition to the numerous examples of the Icons exhibited by him, and which are catalogued and described at p. 118 *ante*, laid on the table a bishop's or priest's staff of the Greek Church, belonging to the Rev. W. Hodgson, of Streatham Common. The staff is an octagon rod of dark wood, inlaid with mother of pearl chequerwise all over.

Mr. G. Vere Irving, F.S.A. *Scot.*, brought forward some coins sent by Mr. Greenshields, and found in enlarging the churchyard at Lesmahago; viz., a thistle halfpenny of Charles II, a coin of Louis XIII dated 1640, and an illegible coin. Although these articles were reported to have been found in contact with a stone cist, and with some

metallic fragments of chain produced, there was nothing to convey a greater idea of antiquity than the dates above given.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited the impression of a seal or merchant's mark, forwarded by the Rev. S. Lockhart, of St. Mary, Bourne, Andover, and found at Funtley Abbey, near Titchfield, Hants, in 1840. The device is a cross with a small circle about its centre, the letter W on the upper part of the stem of the cross, above which the stem terminates in a crosslet, and the letter h on the lower part of the stem.

Mr. Hills also exhibited a drawing sent by Mr. Morris C. Jones, of Liverpool, of the font in the church of Buttington, Montgomery, which font is said to have come from the Abbey of Strata Marcella, the site of which was but a mile or little more, distant. Not a vestige of the abbey remains; and Mr. Jones asks whether, from the design itself, it is probable the tradition is correct. The abbey was founded about 1170; and Dugdale says it was principally a structure of timber; the monastic part was of timber, but the church was of red sandstone, of which some specimens can even now be picked up on the site. The font was formerly covered with plaster, but has within the last twenty years been stripped, shewing bold and deep carving of foliage. The font is about three-and-half to four feet high. The clergyman of the parish was of opinion that the font had been formed out of the upper part of one of the columns of the abbey church. Mr. Hills expressed the opinion that the font had been formed out of the capital of a column, and assigned to the original work of the capital the date of about 1250.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent for exhibition a drawing of Diddlebury Church, Shropshire, and called attention to the early character of the architecture, conspicuously shewn by the drawing, on the north side of the nave. This church has not before been included in the lists of Saxon churches, but Mr. Irvine's observations leave no doubt that it should be so classed. It will be visited by the Association in the course of the ensuing Ludlow Congress. Mr. Irvine also laid before the meeting a drawing of an effigy of Christ now in the Ludlow Museum. The effigy belonged originally to a small crucifix, and is a very spirited work of the thirteenth century.

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited two minute fragments of the crock which had contained the coins of Edward the Confessor and of Harold, exhibited at the last meeting from the Washington find. The pottery was coarse and gritty in substance and but little burnt. He had not succeeded in ascertaining the character of the green substance found about the outer part of the mass of coins.

Mr. Josiah Cato had never seen pottery quite like this, he thought it not kiln burnt, and Mr. Cuming stated that it might be much older than the coins.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., reminded the meeting that on the 13th instant Mr. Teniswood exhibited a little Roman lamp found in Cannon Street, on the base of which is impressed the device of a pair of sandals. Mr. Cuming now produced another lamp of the same kind of dull reddish-brown terra-cotta, exhumed in Fenchurch Street in 1833, on the base of which is stamped the figure of a right sandal. It is well known that the Arezzo potters employed a sigil in form of a sandal bearing their names more or less abbreviated, but the two lamps discovered in London are uninscribed, and of a totally different fabric from the Corolline-ware of Italy, and Mr. Cuming suggested the possibility that the device might be a rebus of some such name as *Caligula*. Both the lamps exhibited belong to an early period of Roman occupation of Britain; and it may be well to state that the one from Fenchurch Street was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. E. I. Carlos, and formed part of the find described in the *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1834, p. 136.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a triangular piece of latten, measuring about one inch and three-eighths at each edge, perforated at the points, and with an open crown of the fourteenth or fifteenth century stamped in the centre. Mr. H. Syer Cuming pronounced this object to be the scale of a German money-balance, and supported his opinion by producing a mounted pair of money scales, the one for the weights being round with a rim, the other for the coin flat, triangular, and stamped with the device of a three-towered building dividing the letters I. H., apparently the arms of Hamburg. Mr. Brent's scale was found at Brooke's Wharf, Queenhithe.

The Rev. Hugh Ingram of Steyning transmitted sketches of two iron keys of the end of the fifteenth century, found in Mrs. Ingram's garden at Steyning, Sussex. The largest, five inches and a-half in length, has a depressed bow, and broach extending beyond the web, found in 1864; the smaller key, three inches and three-quarters long, found in 1867, has a round bow with the interior reni-shaped like one of the examples described in this *Journal*, xii, 124.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a drawing of a steel key of elegant design, belonging to a richly carved oak *Garderobe* or *Armoire*, formerly in Battle Abbey, Sussex. In general character this key resembles those of Rousham House, Oxon, and Bishops' Hall, Kingston, Surrey, of which engravings are given in Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator*, p. 387, and in this *Journal*, xii, 126. The cross within the bow of the Battle Abbey key is, however, less florid than it is in the examples just cited, which have solid fluted stems with knobbed ends, whereas the one under notice has an unornamented tubular stem. All the keys here mentioned are of the time of Elizabeth, and may be compared with one produced at our last meeting by Mr. J. W. Grover.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited two keys at the last meeting which are more conveniently noticed here, and were now again particularly referred to. Both of them were found at Hitcham, Bucks; one evidently a Roman key and found with Roman coins, the other a key of the Elizabethan period, with florid ornaments, filling the bow, of the character of the one next to be noticed.

Mr. H. Kettle exhibited a remarkable key of the age of Queen Elizabeth, the bow formed of an elaborate arrangement of foliage which, upon examination, proved to contain a name or monogram of some kind. The following letters were observed intertwined together, *A. R. S. C. D. L. G.* The key bore marks of gilding, and Mr. Kettle believed it to have belonged to some family connected with Chelsea.

In the twelfth volume of this *Journal* the history of keys has been generally developed by Mr. H. S. Cuming.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a portion of a letter he had received from Mr. J. Murton, in reference to the early Venetian beads exhibited on the 27th of last February. Mr. Murton's words are—"When I wrote to you about the beads found at Harrietsham, I omitted to mention that the lane by the side of which they were discovered bears two names in the locality, viz., the '*Shire road*' and the '*Pilgrim's road*.' The latter name would have tended to shew the use of these beads, had any doubt existed, whether they had formed a rosary or not. The quantity found has been described to me as 'nearly filling a half-gallon measure.' It must be nearly sixty years since they were dug up, from what I can learn. The road in question is almost out of use now—a mere bye-lane, the modern turnpike road from Maidstone through Lenham to Ashford, Hythe, etc., running parallel about half a mile distant." Mr. Cuming observed that he had from the first suspected that the beads here mentioned were designed for rosaries (the pigeon's eggs being for the *Ave Marias*, the octahedrons for the divisions or *gaudees* in which the *Pater Noster* is repeated), and the place of find certainly gives countenance to this idea. They were probably a portion of the stock of a vendor, who, like the *pardoner* in Chaucer's *C Canterbury Tales*, "straight was come from the court of Rome (for this kind of chapman brought not only indulgences from Italy, but crosses and all sorts of religious baubles), and being robbed on the road, the thief, to conceal his plunder, buried the beads in the spot indicated by Mr. Murton."

APRIL 10TH.

G. GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Lord Boston transmitted for exhibition an extraordinarily fine and curious frontal for a horse's head from Southern Caucasus, weighing

one ounce and a-quarter. It consists of a triangular silver plate measuring about four and a-half inches each way; the border pearly, and the pounced field divided into four trigons with a floret at the corners, and each having a perforated boss rising from a central rosette of eight petals. These *repoussé* embellishments closely resemble designs met with on some of the early trinketry of Scandinavia. But the most remarkable feature in this Caucasian ornament is the pen-annular fibula, with its acus two inches and a-half long, rivetted to the upper edge of the plate, which is of true antique type, as may be proved by reference to this *Journal*, xxii, 314.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., exhibited a heart-shaped frontal of white metal, weighing three ounces. From the perforated filigree centre projects a representation of the capsule, the sacred lotos, and round the margin of the pendant hang sixteen escabels of the same form, the whole constituting a massive and elegant ornament. It was brought from Burmah many years since, with several other objects made of the same kind of metal.

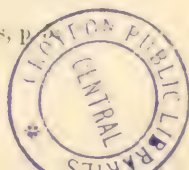
Mr. H. Syer Cuming laid before the meeting a photograph (presented to him by Mr. J. B. Greenshields) of the head of a *Wheel-cross*, discovered on July 18th, 1866, at Lesmahago, Lanarkshire. There can be little doubt that this is a portion of one of the four crosses within the bounds of which stood the sanctuary or cell of refuge, of which special mention is made in an instrument of the year 1144, whereby David I granted Lesmahago to the monks of the Abbey of Kelso.¹ The fragment measures twenty by fourteen inches, and the interlaced strapwork sculptured on its front closely resembles the decorations seen on Irish and Manx crosses of the eleventh century.

Mr. Gunston produced three interesting medals of Elizabeth, which may be described as follows:—

1. Of lead, size of the current florin. *Ob.* Phœnix rising from flames, ensigned by the royal crown—SOLA PHENIX OMNIA MVNDI. *Rev.* Crowned full-faced bust of the Queen—ET ANGLE GLORIA (see the 384 *Medals of England*, plate vii, fig. 1).

2. Of gilt metal; oval, nearly one inch and seven-eighths high. *Ob.* Profile bust to the left, crowned and richly dressed—ELIZABETHA. D.G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA—HEL. MIHI. QVOD. TANTA. VIRTVS. PERFVSA. DECORE. NON. HABET. ETERNOS. INVIOLOTA. DIES. *Rev.* Phœnix rising from flames, above the monogram of Elizabeth, ensigned by a crown—FELICES. ARABES. MVNDI. QVIBVS. VNICA. PHENIX. PHENICEM. REPARAT. DETERE VINDO. NOVAM.—OMISE. ROS. ANGLOS MVNDI QVIBVS VNICA PHENIX VLTIMA FLI. NOSTRO TRISTIA FATA SOLO (see 384 *Medals of England*, plate vii, fig. 8). Elizabeth was not unfrequently compared to the Phœnix, having risen

¹ See *Annals of the Parish of Lesmahago*, by Mr. J. B. Greenshields, p.



out of the *fiery dangers* which surrounded her during the reign of her sister Mary, and triumphantly braved the "Invincible Armada."

3. Of lead, rather larger than the current half-penny. *Ob.* Crowned full-faced bust of Elizabeth—GOD SAVE THE QVENE. *Rev.* Seated figure of justice with sword and scales—CONCILIA. NIL. NI. SI. 1589. A piece very like this is given in the 384 *Medals of England*, vii, 2; but in the place of legend each device is surrounded by a wreath.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited a very curious leaden piece with invected edge, one inch and a-half diameter, bearing on one side the legend in three lines—GOD SAVE YE QVEENE; and on the other a popinjay on a perch. In all probability the piece is a pass-ticket to an archery match, whereat the *popinjay* was the mark; but at some subsequent period a mischievous little gamin has perforated it in two places to turn it into a *cut-water*; a toy, by the bye, of which no mention is made by any of our lexicographers, and about which Strutt, Brand, and Fosbroke appear to be silent.

Mr. J. W. Bailey, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, and Mr. Cecil Brent, laid before the meeting a number of *pseudo-antiques* professed to have been recently found at Brooks' Wharf, Queenhithe, Upper Thames Street, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following observations:—

"The FORGERIES now produced must not be confounded with the barbaric rubbish in lead and cock-metal wrought in Rosemary Lane, Minories, thousands of articles from whence now spread far and wide over the three kingdoms and disfigure alike public and private collections. The present fraud, if less gigantic, is much more specious and dangerous, and is brought about by foreign hands, or at any rate under foreign inspiration.

"On the 10th of last November Mr. Bailey called my attention to two little objects regarding the falsity of which I never felt a moment's doubt,—the one is a pretty little draped kneeling effigy holding an open book—a cast apparently from a mould taken from a subject hawked about the streets by the image-men, but to which is added a rayed nimbus. The second item is an ampulla, with a stiffly-shaped tree composed of pellets on one side, and a copy of a circular medal on the other, displaying the nimbed demi-figure of St. Barbara holding a tower in her right hand and a long feather in her left, in allusion to the miraculous conversion of the rods into feathers whilst she was being scourged, and around is the *legend*—SANTE BEREBO. This device and inscription are of high importance as evidence in the story under consideration, as we find them repeated on the face of a circular brooch, professed to have been discovered on January 10th of the present year, and now kindly submitted by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson. But this brooch was not the first example of the new batch of forgeries which our respected Associate secured—witness a sword, four inches

in length, stated to have been met with on the 21st of last December. The pommel has an open centre, along the grip is a chevron and line of oillets, the cross-guard has little heads at the lower corners, and the blade is channelled.

"The Rev. S. M. Mayhew's contribution marks a bold advance in this imposition, and brings on the pretended discoveries to February last. We have here a small right arm, the hand protected with a gauntlet decorated with pellets, and having a ring for suspension just above the elbow. The surface of this object (which is cast hollow) has been covered with a dull green lacquer, and on some parts fine earth has been rubbed whilst the coating was wet, a treatment observable on most of the specimens next to be described, which are the property of Mr. Cecil Brent, and may be regarded as among the latest professed finds at Brooks' Wharf:—

"No. 1 is a label bearing the word *ANNVS*, and looking as if it had formed the support of a figure, the feet of which are seen on the upper edge.

"No. 2. A triangular bell, designed rather for sale than use, and well *patinated* with greenish lacquer.

"No. 3. A bursi-formed ampulla, flat at back, and with little ears near the mouth for suspension.

"No. 4. Another ampulla, with a heater-shaped shield in front, incised with a cross, in the second quarter of which are four pellets; and a little attention will show that pellets form a very leading characteristic in this new class of forgeries.

"Nos. 5 and 6. Two cornute-shaped vessels with rings in their inner curves for suspension, and having sunk panels on their sides, bordered with pellets. The lacquer *patination* is very visible on the largest of these flasks.

"No. 7. A helmet with three lames for the protection of the neck, the vizor up, and on the top of the head-piece a socket out of all proportion, from which rises a panache. At the back of this convex profile is a pin to pass it off as a brooch.

"No. 8. A right arm (as if broken from a statuette) adorned with groups of pellets, the gauntletted hand holding what looks much like a seed-capsule, but which our Noble President has shrewdly suggested may be intended for a mace-head.

"No. 9. A right gauntlet, with ring at the edge for suspension.

"No. 10. A right leg, bent at the knee, which is defended with a sharp-edged genouillière, and the thigh and skin with cuisse and jambe of plate; and the long-toed soleret is accoutered with a large rowelled spur—the whole thing in tolerable keeping with the fashion of the reign of our fifth Henry. This object is hollow, as if intended for a bottle, and has a suspending ring near the mouth.

“With the exception of the sword, all the foregoing specimens are formed of a much harder metal than that employed at the factory of antiques in the Minorities; it is apparently zinc, and the air of antiquity is given to it with far more care, judgment, and skill than the old forgers display on their vile trash. But the more careful and successful the forger, the more vigilant must be the collector, and any one who will expend time and money for the sake of bringing this fraud to notice, as my good friends Mr. Bailey, Mr. Sparrow Simpson, Mr. Mayhew, and Mr. Brent have done, deserves, and will receive, the hearty thanks of every lover of truth, whether he be or be not an archæologist.”

Mr. J. W. Bailey remarked on the facility with which zinc may be cast in moulds without destroying the moulds; hence the convenience of this metal for the manufacture of the objects produced. Moreover, the flaws observed in the casts were at once recognisable by one practically acquainted with the use of this metal, as flaws in casting caused by the coldness of the metal, and not as blemishes from age, which, to a hasty observer, they might appear to be.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a brown-ware jug found in digging the foundation of the Foreign Office in Downing Street, and considered it Dutch ware of about 1670. The cartouche upon it bore, Mr. Cuming thought, the arms of Amsterdam.

Mr. J. W. Grover then read a paper on “Pre-Augustine Christianity in England,” which will be printed in a future *Journal*. Mr. T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A. and Dr. Giles offered some observations on the subject, acknowledging the value attaching to every relic of an era in religion in this island, of which so little has reached us of any kind of monument. Mr. Wright specially demurred to the idea put forward by Mr. Grover that the monument of Carausius the Usurper had been discovered in Wales. Dr. Giles pointed out how common an ornament the cross is even where Christianity is unknown, and hence the difficulty of accepting it alone as a mark of the Christian religion. Mr. Gordon Hills said that the period before the year 600, of which Mr. Grover treated, was much less barren of facts in Ireland than in England, and yet the real extent of Christianity there was a point on which Irish historians differed widely. It was, however, to his mind more than probable, that Christianity was seated in Ireland, particularly in the south, before the coming of St. Patrick, and yet the coming of this apostle and his labours through the middle of the fifth century had evidently left Ireland very far from fully Christianised. On this subject, the lately published life of St. Patrick, by Dr. J. H. Todd, told a simple tale, and yet one full of learning and history. How much St. Patrick’s labours left undone could perhaps most easily be understood by consulting Dr. Reeves’ life of St. Columba of Iona, scarcely less the apostle of Ireland, and who carried on the work about a hundred years later.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited a perfect metal matrix or seal of the Commonwealth, of which he knew no history. As the seals of the Commonwealth were broken after the Restoration, it may be that this one is only a copy made at some more recent time as a curiosity.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., then read a paper "On the Discovery of Cetacean Remains in London," which will appear in the next *Journal*. Dr. Giles said that the subject which Mr. Cuming had brought forward reminded him of the "Balena Britannica," mentioned by Juvenal.

Mr. Godwin (Chairman) in closing the meeting, observed on the great archaeological value of one part of the Paris Exhibition, and which, in an archaeological character, had taken him by surprise. He alluded to that subdivision called the History of Labour, in which a great number of specimens of ancient art and industry are collected.

APRIL 27TH.

H. SYER CUMING, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. W. S. Simpson exhibited two books from the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral interesting from the autographs they contain as well as from their connection with the building of the present cathedral:—A manuscript entitled, *A Booke of Subscriptions towards the Repaire of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London*, A^o Dni. 1664, with autographs of Charles, R.; Gilb. Cant. [*i.e.* Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop, 1663-1667]; Clarendon, C.; Rich. Ebor. [*i.e.* Richard Sterne, Abp. 1664-1683]; F. Southampton; J. Brenes?; Albemarle, Ex.; Ormond; Sandwich; Anglesey; Humfr. London [*i.e.* Humfrey Henchman, Bp. 1663-1675]; Geor. Winton [*i.e.* George Morley, Bp. 1662-1684]; Henry Bennet; G. Palmer; John Nicholas; P. Warwick; Ashley; Carbery. This book was purchased at a sale at Evans's in Pall Mall (it had formed part of the stock-in-trade of Thorpe, the bookseller) by Dr. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, and by him presented to the Library at St. Paul's, 30 June, 1826. It is stamped on the outside with the royal arms and the letters C. R.

The Book of Subscriptions towards Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, March, 1678, with autographs of Charles, R.; James; Finch, C.; Danby; Anglesey, C. P. S.; Bathe; W. Cant. [*i.e.* William Sancroft, Archbishop, 1677-1693]; Worcester; Williamson; H. London [that is, Henry Compton, Bishop, 1675-1713]; Northampton; Essex; W. Maynard; N. Duresme [*i.e.* Nathanael Crew, Bishop, 1674-1722]; Ailesbury; Berkeley. This volume is preserved amongst the archives of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Mr. Simpson also laid before the meeting a book from the same library, upon a curious engraving in which he made the following observations:—

"*The wound in our Saviour's side as a charm.*—At the end of a curious little volume, *Les Heures Nostre Dame a l'usage de Sees*, imprinted at Rouen by Nicholas Mulot, circa 1595, and preserved amongst the rarer books in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral [Press Mark 38, p. 7] is a life of S. Margaret in French verse, by the same printer, and probably of the same date. On the verso of the last page of this life is a small woodcut, showing within a lozenge-shaped border the size of the wound in the Saviour's side; the wound is of the vesica piscis form, and is about 1·2 inch long, and 0·4 inch in width. Its virtues are thus recounted:—

"Cest icy la mesure de la Playe du coste de nostre seigneur Jesu Christ : laquelle fut apportee de Cōstantinople a Lempereur Charlemaigne, dedans un coffre dor, comme relique tresprecieuse : affin que nul ennemy ne luy peust nuyre. Et a telle vertu, que celuy ou celle qui la lira, ou lire la fera, ou sur foy la portera : ne feu, ne leaue, ne vent, ne tempeste, cousteau, ne lance, ne espec, ne diable, ne luy pourra nuyre. Et la femme qui enfantera le iour quelle verra ladicte mesure, ne mourra point de mort sundaine a lenfātemēt; mais sera deliuree legierement. Et tout homme qui la portera sur foy par devotion & en fera mention aura hōneur & victoire sur ses ennemys, et ne le peut ou greuer ne luy faire dōmage. Et le iour que on la lira, de mauuaise mort on ne mourra. Amen."

La vie ma dame Sainte Marguerite, vierge & martyre. Avec son Antienne, & Oraison, is a small tract occupying eight pages; the verso of the last page contains the matter above cited. On the title is a woodcut of S. Margaret under a trefoiled arch: a nimbus round her head, a book and a cross flory on her left, a flower on her right, and at her feet a dragon of most terrible ferocity. The little volume is rather more than five inches and a-half in height, and runs in eights.

The following communication was received from Mr. J. T. Irvine:—"Notes on two bronze spoons found at Weston, near Bath, Somersetshire. The two spoons now exhibited were found some time ago at Weston during excavations for a new road. They lay together on the top of the lias rock, about seven feet below surface of ground. I made inquiry if any appearance of a burial was to be seen, but the man who found them, and from whom I got them, said he could see nothing of the sort. The scroll ornament in the back of the annulated handles is similar to that on the articles found at Polden-hill, Somersetshire, and on a bracelet found at Stanwick, and presented by the late Duke of Northumberland to the British Museum. One is graved with cross-lines on bottom, and has been gilt. There is a circular hole in the side of the other. Others have been found with the same little round hole near the edge, but I forget where at this moment. I am not aware of two having been found together before."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that the two bronze spoons or scoops submitted by Mr. Irvine unquestionably belonged to the same era as the remains discovered at Polden and Ham hills, Somersetshire, and Stanwick, Yorkshire, which are generally acknowledged to be of late Celtic fabric, the ornamentations on all partaking much of the character of designs seen on various articles of the same epoch met with in Ireland. Shallow though be the bowls, they are somewhat deeper than what are observed in many of the wooden spoons of South Africa, and shell scoops of the North-west Coast of North America (of which Mr. Cuming produced examples), and their round handles are as long and convenient to hold as those of the horn scoops employed in the shops of grocers, seedsmen, etc. Though until now Britannie spoons of the Celtic period have not been recognised, we may feel assured that such utensils were well-known to the ancient inhabitants of this country and Ireland. Mr. Cuming added that he knew of but one example at all resembling the Weston relics, which is engraved in Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities* (p. 82), where it is described as an "ornamented plate in bronze, the use or application of which is by no means obvious. It measures four inches and a-half by three." This London specimen, therefore, differs but little in size from the spoons exhumed at Weston, but the handle is much broader, and descends about a quarter down the thick edge of the shallow acute oval bowl.

Dr. Giles expressed his opinion that the ornamentation on the spoons was older than the Roman period in Britain.

Dr. Brushfield exhibited a merchant's seal of lead, found in 1866, between the wall-stones of Chester. On one side is a shield charged with a cross *humettée*, the upper limb dividing two roses (?). On the reverse are the letters W.L.G.K. This seal has a double perforation from edge to edge to admit the cord employed in securing it to the bale of goods. Guided alone by the form of the shield we might be led to assign this bulla to the fifteenth century, but it is probably not older than the sixteenth century.

Communications were then read on the subject of the recent opening of two barrows and early cemeteries, and on the contents of a third opened about forty years ago:—

1. A communication by Alfred Ellis, Esq., of Belgrave, Leicester, through T. North, Esq., accompanied by illustrations.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS AT BARROW ON SOAR.

The report of the meeting of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, in January, in the *Leicester Journal*, contained a short notice of the recent discovery of Roman antiquities in the parish of Barrow. These discoveries have been followed by others, which

have given to the former an additional interest. The relics were found in opening a delf for limestone, in a field on the left of the road leading from Sileby to Barrow, the property of John Ellis and Sons. There has evidently been an artificial mound in this place, possibly removed for agricultural purposes. It does not now show an elevation greater than two or three feet, and none of the remains were found at more than two feet below the natural surface of the land. Could this have been the barrow which gave the name to the village? Five glass vessels, some imperfect, all containing human bones, have been found; also the bones of five persons interred without cremation, two iron or bronze lampstands, a large amphora, fragments of a lachrymatory, and portions of two other vessels of Roman pottery, besides animal bones. The first vessel found is a fine specimen, a hexagon of green glass, with striated handle; total height, ten inches and a-half; diameter, seven inches and a-half. The mouth of this vessel is covered with lead, so perfectly sealed that the bones are as dry as when deposited. The second is four-sided (the more usual form), height eleven inches and a-half, diameter five inches and a-half, of the same material, with striated handle, and also sealed with lead. This was broken when found; it had been laid upon its side, in a rude chest, formed of pieces of limestone, of not more than sufficient size to contain it. Near to the last were the two lampstands; they are attached to iron rods, the length of one is twenty inches, the other fourteen inches. These lamps were capable of folding, by means of links placed in the rod at about three inches and-a-half above the lamp. They could also be suspended by hooks in the rods. These were not found exactly over the chest, but so near as to be undoubtedly placed there simultaneously with it and its contents. This protection of the remains and the presence of the lampstands may indicate a more than common affection for the deceased, and a desire to provide what might be needed in the journey to the other world or necessary in the future life. The third vessel is of the same material as those already described,—an octagon with flat sides, and two handles of rather bolder mouldings; total height eleven inches and a-half, the long diameter eight inches and a-half, the short diameter three inches and a-half. This vessel had no cover, and earth and water were mingled with the bones, which are those of a young person. Through a piece of the skull is driven a small flat-headed nail, about an inch long. The vessel is quite perfect, and a very fine specimen. The other two glass vessels are four-sided; one covered with lead; both much broken and imperfect, but of the same character as those before mentioned. They are such as were used by the wealthy Romans for wine, and might be called large claret jugs, with throats two to three inches wide. Within a short distance was the great amphora, about two feet in external diameter, and two feet six inches

in height, of a capacity of fifteen gallons. This was filled with charred wood, much of which had become earth, and containing many iron nails. The amphora is nearly perfect, but appeared to have been crushed by the overlying earth, so that when the surrounding soil was removed it gave way, but is now restored. The neck of the amphora is only a few inches wide; no doubt it was a wine jar, as casks were not then used, and neither honey nor figs could have been easily taken from so small a mouth. It was specially interesting to see this vessel containing the ashes of a funeral pyre, standing exactly as left seventeen hundred years ago by the Romans, after the performance of their solemn funeral rites. Not many yards from the amphora was a paved floor of rubble granite, from the Mountsorrel Hills, about six feet by ten. No lime had been used in its formation. Probably this was the surface on which the funeral pyre was raised. Of the five skeletons, three were laid in the bare earth, not more than two feet from the surface, yet with so much care that even the hands had not lost their original position. Two of them were bones of powerful men; the enamel on the teeth bright and sound, but most of the bones so friable that they fell to pieces on being raised. The other two were placed in cists formed of Roman tiles and slabs of limestone, the tiles being placed round the head and shoulders, with one over the face. A careful search was made for personal ornaments, but none could be found. Large animal bones of horse or oxen, and the tusks of other animals were near at hand. In the floors of limestone, not many feet below, lie the relics of an earlier creation, affording to the geologist a study as attractive as is supplied to the antiquarian, by the remains of a people to whose polity and refinement we are so much indebted, and whose mark will ever remain upon the world. The antiquities and relics will be shortly placed in the Leicester Museum, where they may be seen by the public.

2. By the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A.,

ON THE DISCOVERY OF TWO CEMETERIES IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

Two interesting discoveries have recently been made at separate places in the immediate vicinity of Ryde, Isle of Wight; one is that of an ancient British cemetery in a brickfield about a mile and a-half from Ryde, on the right of the Ashley Down road, between the Isle of Wight Infirmary and the tollgate. The brickfield is on the slope of the valley a little westward of Swannore Church. On the information of Mr. Nicholas Frampton, the son of the proprietor of the brickfield, employed in excavating the clay, it would appear that not less than about sixty urns have been dug out since 1865; they have usually been burnt along with the ashes contained in them into bricks. In one instance, Mr. Frampton had observed a small urn within a larger

one. We are indebted to Charles Cramer, Esq., of Ryde, for bringing to light this ancient cemetery, as well as for reliable particulars concerning it. Early in February last, being informed by Mr. Frampton that, whilst digging clay, he had found some "pots" imbedded in it, Mr. Cramer proceeded to the spot, accompanied by Mr. Carey, Curator of the Ryde Museum, and tracing the circumference of a cinerary urn sixteen feet in diameter, he caused it to be carefully dug out with the clay, the upper part of the urn having evidently been destroyed by the plough. The original height was about twenty inches. In addition to this urn, he found one shewing the base, one large urn (a mass of clay), one middle sized with ashes destroyed, parts of one somewhat sugar-loaf in form, and four small ones crumbled to pieces.

On visiting the site at Swanmore, with Mr. Cramer, traces of six urns were still obvious, which showed the positions of the urns, the soil retaining the colour which the burnt ashes had imparted. I measured the spaces between these urns, which were placed in a line, and found them two feet apart, and about eight inches below the surface. Four of the Swanmore urns are deposited in the Ryde Museum. The largest one, above mentioned, resembles in size an urn in that museum, by the side of which it is placed, which was discovered on Asheys Down, and described and figured by Benjamin Barrow, Esq., in the *British Archaeological Journal* for 1854, p. 164, though far inferior to that fine specimen of the ancient British urn. One only of the urns discovered any symptoms of ornamentation, which consisted of ridges in the form of a cross at the bottom of the urn inside. One appeared to be a kind of a double urn—one within the other. There were no beads or other relics found. The urns were apparently sun-dried, or, as the brick-maker observed, "they had the appearance of having been placed before a dull fire, as if smoked on the earth, not burnt in a kiln." I remarked that the ashes of the urns in the Museum were covered with a thick coating of unbaked clay. In reference to the large number of urns (conjectured at sixty) destroyed by the workmen before attention was directed to their investigation, Mr. Frampton observed that the urns in the lower part of the cemetery were not so very regular as to distance, nor so close as those higher up. Higher up the ashes seemed to have been buried in the clay without the urns, and in one instance he saw ashes outside an urn. The ashes were generally only at the bottom of the urns, clay being rammed in to serve as a covering. Mr. Frampton also said, that an old man who had visited the Swanmore Cemetery told him that at Whitwell, Isle of Wight, similar urns had been found, and the urns and their contents scattered and destroyed.

Another interesting cemetery discovery has since been made, about half a mile distant from Ryde, at Ehasfield, on the high ground of St. John's Wood, lately cleared for building purposes, and laid out in

newly-cut roads. For this we are also indebted to Charles Cramer, Esq., who, on being informed by Mr. Williams, the florist, that he had picked up at Elmfield, in a heap of gravel, two pieces of pottery, visited that spot, which is situated not far from St. John's Church, on the left side of the road to Brading. Mr. Cramer found two men at work, who stated that they had come across, about two feet six inches below the surface, a sort of bottle with a handle, the neck of which was from three to four inches long, the vessel itself being from seven to eight inches high, but that it fell to pieces when touched. The upper part of this handle, grooved twice, has been saved by Mr. Cramer, and has every appearance of Roman work. A drawing of the handle accompanies this paper. With these fragments, a flat stone (of lime-stone) circular in shape, was found two feet under the ground, which is here gravel. It was sixteen inches in diameter, two inches thick, and has a smooth surface grooved along the edge; the other side is rough hewn. It had a small hole in the centre. Its use may be conjectured to have been to protect a cinerary urn. The men said that they had seen other pieces of pottery scattered about the premises, looking as if they had been filled with black earth burnt. A few very small pieces were afterwards brought to Mr. Cramer. They differ in texture from the bit of handle, and are of a somewhat harder material. Of these, two fragments of parts of projecting rims, belonging to two different urns, measured according to their bend, the one seven inches and the other eight inches in diameter. A third fragment, a *rim*, proves the urn to which it belonged to have been bent inwards. This pottery has the appearance of being burnt in a kiln, and probably turned in a lathe; it may be considered Romano-British. The above specimens are in possession of Mr. Cramer, to whose courtesy I am indebted for their inspection, and also of the spot in which they were found. Their discovery is an additional proof of the extensive Roman occupation of the Isle of Wight to those lately recorded in the *Journal*.

3. Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited some specimens of "coal money" taken out from a long barrow in the Isle of Purbeck about forty years ago, together with the fragment of an earthenware vessel, which, on examination this evening, was found to be the bottom of a jar, but which some person had evidently mistaken for a complete cup, and to realise his ideas more completely had ground off the broken edges, where the marks of fracture had been mistaken by him for uneven workmanship.

Mr. Cuming thought the lead in the vessels from Barrow-on-Sear a rarity; and Mr. Gordon Hills pointed out that the lampstands, though their purpose on this occasion was palpable enough, were well calculated to give the character of lampstands to the horseshoes engraved in the last number of the *Journal*.



Mr. J. T. Blight, F.S.A., exhibited rubbings of two ancient coffins, or grave stones, from Abergele Church. One of them is two feet six inches long, twelve inches wide at the head, and seven inches at the foot, and bears an incised cross with one step at the foot of the stem, the head of the cross inscribed within a circle. The other stone is two feet eight inches long, nine inches and a half wide at the head, and eight inches at the foot; and it bears a cross similar in form to the other, but with additional insignia. In the four quarters of the circle, between the arms of the cross, are four rosettes, each of eight leaves or rays, and on the left side of the stem of the cross is a sword nineteen inches long, with a plain cross guard at the hilt, a knob at the pommel, and the grip of the handle crossed with diagonal lines. The stones were found buried in the churchyard, and have now been built into the walls of the church porch. The church is of the fifteenth century.

Mr. H. Kettle laid before the meeting seven panels of painting brought from Loseley Hall, near Guildford, belonging to J. More Molyneux, Esq., and believed by Mr. Kettle's friend, Mr. Wm. Meyrick, to be as early as the reign of Henry VIII. The panels exhibited belong to a series extending to three or four times the number produced. They are of canvass, mounted on stiff material of coarse canvass of several thicknesses. The painting consists of delicate and well-executed foliated ornaments and scroll-work, some of it evidently repainted and impaired by the process. The designs were never made for frames of the dimensions which the panels have lately filled, some of the devices having been cut and maimed to fit where they could not originally have been intended to fit. In others, the modern frames had covered and protected the ancient painting round the edges, and prevented those parts from being retouched by modern paint. The original work appeared to be Italian renaissance, and the general opinion of the meeting confirmed Mr. Meyrick's idea of its date.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 8TH.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Auditors presented the following report and balance-sheet of the Treasurer's accounts for the past year, which was received and adopted:—

We the Auditors of the British Archæological Association appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, have to report that we have performed that duty and inspected the proper vouchers. The receipts during the year 1866 have amounted to £515 : 13 : 8, which, with the balance of £214 : 14 : 11 carried forward from last year, raises the total sum to be accounted for to £730 : 8 : 7. The disbursements on account of the year have been £466 : 15 : 3, leaving a balance in the

hands of the Treasurer of £263:13:4. This large and gratifying balance is due, in the first place, to the balance of the previous year, aided by the collection by the Treasurer of the arrears in abeyance during the illness of the late Treasurer, by several life subscriptions, and by two handsome donations, as well as by the payments made in advance by several members for a future issue of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*. This balance has been obtained notwithstanding the issue for the year of by far the most amply-illustrated and costly *Journal* that has been printed for many years. There have been elected during the year 41 Associates; 16 have withdrawn, and 13 have deceased. There is, therefore, a small increase in the list of permanent members.

May 6, 1867.

GEO. A. CAPE, }
SAMUEL WOOD, } *Auditors.*

Thanks were voted to the auditors for their report.

The ballot for Officers and Council for the year 1867-8 having been taken, the Chairman announced that the following were unanimously returned as elected:—

PRESIDENT.

SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM

LORD BOSTON

LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.

SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

THOMAS CLOSE, F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Somerset Herald*

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

TREASURER.

GORDON M. HILLS

SECRETARIES.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD.

COUNCIL.

G. G. ADAM

G. ADE

W. E. ALLEN

T. BLASHILL

H. H. BURNELL, F.S.A.

J. COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.

A. GOLDSMID, F.S.A.

J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A.

J. HEYWOOD, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

G. VERE IRVING, F.S.A. *Scot.*

W. C. MARSHALL, R.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

R. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.

J. W. PREVITÉ

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON

CECIL BRENT

G. TOMLINE, F.S.A.

AUDITORS.

JOSIAH CATO.

T. GUNSTON.

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the Officers and Council for their services during the past year.

The Treasurer announced the names of members deceased during the year; the obituary memoirs will be given in the next *Journal*.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DEC. 1866.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1866	214	14	11
Annual and Life-Subscriptions	425	4	4
Balance of Hastings Congress	49	17	10
Sale of publications	40	11	6
	<u>£730</u>	8	7

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	215	3	0
Illustrations to the same	179	12	8
Miscellaneous printing	8	18	6
Rent for 1866, Rooms at Sackville-street, and storage at Pantechnicon	23	3	6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	18	3	0
Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, gratuities, postages, stamps, advertisements, and notices	19	8	2
Stationery	2	6	5
	<u>£466</u>	15	3
Balance in hands of Treasurer	263	13	4
	<u>£730</u>	8	7

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

GEO. A. CAPE } *Auditors.*
SAMUEL WOOD }

May 6, 1867.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1867.

PRE-AUGUSTINE CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN,

AS INDICATED BY THE DISCOVERY OF CHRISTIAN
SYMBOLS.

BY J. W. GLOVER, ESQ.

WHEREVER it is found that historical evidence and archaeological research are at issue, we may be sure that some error exists which requires correction. The spade, like the sword, has often been called in to decide disputes over which the pen has been wielded in vain; with this important difference, however, that whilst the results achieved by the sword are often unsatisfactory, those won by the spade are undeviatingly true, and carry universal conviction. It is to assist in removing the presumed "difficulty" between the pen and the spade that these observations are made.

Whereas ecclesiastical history gives numerous accounts of Christianity in Roman Britain in the very infancy of the Church, yet it is argued that history is wrong, because, amongst the numerous Roman remains which have been discovered, early Christian symbols are conspicuous from their absence. This is, however, not true, as this paper will shew, since various indications of Christianity have been found, which, few as they are, are nevertheless quite conclusive as far as they go; and their rarity may be more truly accounted for by the want of a careful system of research on the part of modern explorers, than from the supposed fact of their non-existence.

Now, without trespassing upon the historical part of the
1867

question, it may be as well to state a fact which is universally admitted, viz., that when Augustine came to England, at the close of the sixth century, he found Christianity already established in Wales and Cornwall, and in those countries into which the Romano-British population had been driven by the victorious inroad of the Pagan Saxons. It is also clear that the Christianity which he did find was of a very simple and primitive type, and evidently of eastern origin; a fact which distinctly proves that it had been derived direct from the earliest converts of the Gospel, who probably accompanied the first invasions, and came in the ranks of the Roman cohorts.

At the head of the Christian symbols, and for many years the only one known, stands the celebrated *chirho* ($\chi\rho$) of the Frampton pavement, discovered at the close of the last century, engraved by Lysons in his *Reliquiæ Brit. Rom.* As in other respects the pavement is purely pagan, the presence of this Christian emblem has excited considerable controversy. It has been supposed by Lysons that it may have been interpolated at a later period; but an examination of the materials will shew that it is part of the original work. Moreover, the supposition leads to still greater confusion; for if it be a modern addition, at what period could such addition have taken place? Not after Augustine's time certainly, for the monogram was not used in this form then. If at an earlier period, then the unavoidable conclusion is, that Roman Britain was Christianised after the manner of Gaul and the rest of the empire.

One remarkable feature is that the symbol is placed in a diametrically reverse direction to the pagan figures. Moreover its position deserves close attention. It stands at the base or threshold of the semicircular recess or apse, which in most Roman British villas was occupied by the statue of the tutelary deity, as has been proved by discoveries at Leicester; and which recess is supposed to have been curtained off from the rest of the apartment, forming the *sacrum*, or place of domestic worship.

We know that in the early ages, when there were no churches, Christian worship was celebrated in the houses of the wealthy Roman converts; when the faith became triumphant, the *basilica*, or law-court, became either the church or the model of the ecclesiastical edifice. In the *basilica* the altar

was always placed in the centre of the chord of the apse or *cancellus*, where the magistrate and tribunal sat on semicircular seats. This position for the altar was retained by the Christians; and it was not till the eleventh century, in England, that it was placed close to the eastern wall of the chancel or apse. The peculiar sanctity which marked this spot would induce the owner of the villa to select it for any symbol of the faith to which he belonged. But this does not explain the proximity of the pagan devices, which can only be understood by considering carefully the habits and feelings of the age when this anomalous pavement was made.

The correct key to its history, then, appears to me to be this. The owner of the beautiful Frampton villa was one of the semi-Christians who composed the bulk of the population of the empire after the age of Constantine. Like that great man, he loved to mingle the old wine with the new; for Constantine, long after he had adopted the Christian *labarum* as his standard, retained his favourite Apollo, the *Sol invictus*, upon his coins. In the very catacombs of Rome, some of the Christian inscriptions commence with pagan addresses to the gods and shades.¹ In the baptistery at Ravenna the Jordan is represented by a river-god; the labours of Hercules were inscribed upon the pontifical chair at Rome. The pope himself, in the fifth century, was accused of consulting the heathen oracles at Rome;² and the *aqua lustralis* of paganism became the Roman Catholic holy water. Moreover, Constantine retained the old pagan name of *Dies Solis* for the first day of the week. Even Origen, in the earlier and purer times of the third century, condescends to set up the Platonic philosophy as a test of Christianity. And these facts point evidently to the conclusion that the imperfect state of the faith, when it became universal, was such as to permit the combination of Christian and pagan symbols in the manner shewn at Frampton.

Adjoining this, in the same villa, there is a pavement³ of

¹ Didron, p. 365.

² Stanley's *Eastern Church*.

³ Since reading these observations, I have been reminded that this pavement closely resembles the ceiling of the mausoleum of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine; and this resemblance has been noticed by Lysons in the *Reliquie*. I think, therefore, its *Christian character* may be taken as proved, and there now remains little doubt as to the head being intended for that of the Saviour. I venture to think, therefore, that this pavement is the most ancient Roman record of Christianity, not in Britain alone, but in the whole of Europe,—outside of the catacombs.

the same age and workmanship, which seems to me to possess some features which deserve careful study. I shall draw attention to them briefly, trusting that those who may think my ideas far-fetched, will remember that the Christian emblem before referred to is only a few paces off, and clearly the work of the same hand. (See Lysons' *Reliquiæ Brit. Rom.*, plate 7.)

The central medallion of this pavement shews a portrait of a benign and intelligent head surrounded by a nimbus.¹ As the face is of so very different a type to those generally found on Roman pavements, is it going too far to suppose that it is meant to represent the Saviour? Surrounding it are four crosses, but they are so ingeniously interwoven into the pattern that it is difficult to assign to them any special meaning. There they are, however, and they most certainly represent crosses. I may observe that the form of cross² is exceedingly rare upon pavements. I do not at this moment call to mind another instance in Romano-British work. At the four angles are four heads in octagonal medallions; between them are ten fish of the dolphin type, such as exist so extensively in the Christian catacombs. Although the fish was used by pagans, it was the earliest and most universal Christian symbol.

A most important discovery was made by Rev. Samuel Lysons, in 1864, at the beautiful villa of Chedworth Wood in Gloucestershire, consisting of two distinct instances of the Christian monogram, carved in the stone forming the under part of the foundation of the steps leading into the corridor. Probably, as Mr. Lysons suggests, this situation had reference to St. Paul's expression (II Timothy, 2-19), "The foundation of God standeth sure having this seal," and indicates that the builder of this villa was a Christian. One of the specimens (pl. 10, fig. 1) is elaborate, and similar to those which are found on the coins of Magnentius. It is two inches in diameter. The other (fig. 2) is less deeply cut; but is larger, about four inches in diameter; and in form resembles the monogram of the catacombs.

¹ The nimbus was in use amongst the pagans, but was adopted by Christians in very early times. It did not, however, become very general until the fifth century, and is rare in the catacombs. See Didron. p. 50; also *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 475.

² A similar form of Greek cross to the one on this pavement will be seen in M. Perret's work on the catacombs, commemorating the martyr Launus in the time of Diocletian. Fig. 10.

Near the same spot were likewise found two stone candlesticks, one of which is said to have upon it the cross (X). There are several other instances of crosses in the building, which, but for the unmistakable monogram, would not have been considered worthy of notice.

What lends additional interest to the discovery is the undoubted antiquity of the villa. This is proved by the discovery, in the vicinity, of a bath formed of bricks marked with the letters ARVIRI, which is the legend on the coins which are attributed to Arviragus, a tributary British king under Claudius, and who is said to have been the father of Boadicea. Moreover, she married Prasiatagus; and in this villa a sculptured stone has been found with the letters PRASIATA, singularly confirming history. Mr. Lysons speaks also of a hexagonal bath in the same villa, which, from its peculiar form, he supposes to have been a baptistery. It is very remarkable that the old chroniclers make this Arviragus a Christian, and state that he was converted by Joseph of Arimathea, who is said to have founded Glastonbury. This story has been regarded as a mere fable; but this interesting discovery at Chedworth seems to indicate its truth, although it does not help us much as to the minor question, which is, by whom was the conversion of the British prince effected?

The Christian monogram was discovered at Corbridge, on the Roman wall, engraved on a salver-cup. It is an unfortunate circumstance that this interesting relic has been lost sight of.

In the British Museum are two cakes of pewter, which were found in the Thames. These bear the impression of the Christian monogram; and on one of them (fig. 3) is the word *spes*, in the form so frequently found in the catacombs. That their date is of the time of Valentinian, is proved by the word *Syagrius*, which is stamped upon them. One of them bears a rude configuration of the *alpha* and *omega*.

Mr. Wright, in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, gives an account of the various Welsh and Cornish sepulchral inscriptions which, from the presence of the cross, were clearly Christian, and which he says belong to the fifth century, or to the period immediately following the departure of the Roman legions. Without venturing to differ from so excellent an authority, I will merely observe that one of these

stones gives to the person whose name it records the title of "tribune": thus,

HONEMIMOR

TRIBVN

(Honemimorus the tribune). Now, as the title of tribune was a military one, signifying an officer corresponding to our colonel, it seems hardly likely that such a title should have existed after the departure of the legions. May it not, therefore, be fairly presumed that these stones are of somewhat earlier date?

Sometimes the words *hic jacet* are added to these inscriptions.

Corresponding to these relics are found sepulchral stones on the west coast of Scotland. I have here figured a rubbing from the most ancient (fig. 4), which is at Stranraer, and which the Scotch antiquaries attribute to the end of the fifth century. It is interesting as exhibiting the gradual change which took place from the old, primitive monogram to the ordinary form of cross:¹ also as having the words *hic jacet*, and the *alpha* and *omega*.

The remarkable recent discovery, at Cirencester, of the two tiles with the initials, I. H. S., deserves a passing allusion. Without venturing to assert that they are Christian, it is well known that these letters, in the ancient Church, represented the first three letters, in Greek, of the name of Jesus (figs. 5 and 6). The Latinised version of them, *Jesus hominum Salvator*, was an invention of the Jesuits.

I would observe that, during the principal period of the Roman occupation of Britain, the Christian Church was under persecution; therefore its symbols must necessarily occupy obscure situations. Moreover, throughout the empire generally, during the first three centuries, symbols are comparatively rare, even in localities where we know Christianity prevailed extensively from the earliest times. In Rome there is literally nothing above ground which can be shewn to be earlier than Constantine. That they have, for want of proper research, been frequently overlooked, is, I think, well shewn in the case of Chedworth, where the first talented explorers had failed to discover the interesting marks which Mr. Lysons in a casual visit pointed out. As in other matters, the eye requires a certain amount of training. I am

¹ This form may be seen on the coins of the sons of Constantine.

disposed, moreover, to agree with several writers, that the presence of such sculptures as garlands, branches of palms, lamps, unicorns, the olive, the crown, also the conspicuous absence of the D. M. on sepulchral inscriptions, although not necessarily, yet possibly, indicate Christianity or Christian ideas, such emblems being so frequent in the catacombs.

In proof of the Welsh and Cornish sepulchral stones being somewhat earlier than the fifth century, Mr. Lysons has favoured me with a most remarkable stone found at Pen Machno in Caernarvon (fig. 7), which commemorates a person named Carausius, who, from the symbol, was evidently a Christian. I think there is some ground for supposing that the famous Roman admiral and usurper (A.D. 287-293) is commemorated here; for two reasons may be brought forward in support of this,—1st, he was in all probability a native of Wales, and would therefore be likely to be buried there; 2nd, the inscription affords a good example of the system of combining letters together by ligatures, common in his age. It is also remarkable that, notwithstanding the extensive manner in which Carausius has commemorated himself by his coinage, no inscriptions with his name occur; and Mr. Wright thinks this can only be explained by their having been destroyed when the country was again restored under the Roman power. Now is it not possible that Constantius Chlorus, the Roman imperial governor, might have spared this inscription, as he was himself well affected to Christianity?

Fig. 8 shews a sepulchral stone from Cornwall, like the last named, and similar to the one found in Scotland, at Stranraer, and before alluded to. This stone is said to be that of Sellyf, duke of Cornwall, A.D. 325. Archdeacon Williams, in his *Cymry* (p. 120), mentions a stone at the church of Llanbabr, in Anglesey, bearing the name of its founder, Pabo, who was called “the pillar of Britain,” and lived at the close of the fifth century. The inscription runs thus:

HIC . JACET . PABO . POST . PRVD . CORPORS.....TE
...PRIMA.¹

He also mentions (p. 120) another to Paulinus, the famous founder and first abbot (A.D. 480) of Whitland Monastery,

¹ See Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 167, 168, where the inscription is given as above; but the latter portion of it has probably been misread.



near Llandingad in Caermarthenshire, the inscription on which reads thus :

SERVATVR FIDEI
PATRIEQ. SEMPER
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN
VS IACET CVLTOR PIENT
SIMVS LEQVL

The famous bell of St. Iltyd, who was described as one of "the three chaste knights of the court of King Arthur," was found some years ago at the Town Hall of Lantwit. It bears the inscription (p. 188), "Sancte Ilcute ora pro nobis." From the characters in which it is written, it is supposed to be of the age in which the holy man lived, that is in the fifth century. I am disposed to think it is, however, of much later date. It was not usual to invoke the prayers of saints at that time, nor was it usual to canonise a saint until long after his death; besides, it is justly supposed that the ancient British church did not use a bell at all, but simply a hard slate or flat stone.

Mr. Wellbeloved, in his *Descriptive Account of the Antiquities of York* (p. 84), gives a description of two tablets, one of brass, and the other of gold, bearing Greek inscriptions indicating Coptic words meaning "lord of the gods," which he presumed belonged to the Gnostic sect of Christians, *temp. Severus*.

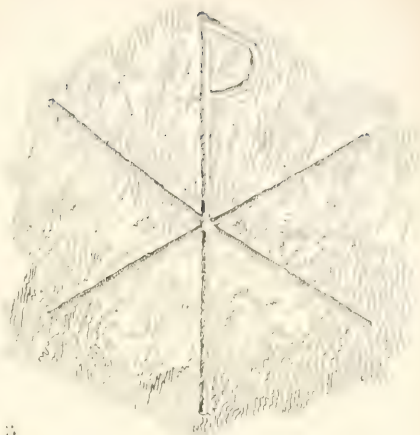
In the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (vol. i, p. 116) will be found an account of another remarkable Gnostic chain of gold, on which were inscribed four Hebrew words in Greek characters, together with astral and magical signs. This relic was found at Llanbeblig, near Carnarvon, the ancient Roman military station of Segontium. According to Irenæus, the Gnostic heresy, which was the favourite Egyptian form of Christianity, prevailed in Gaul immediately after the apostolic age. The presence of heresy proves the existence of the church, for, as Gibbon remarks, the weaker side were always termed heretics.

As some difficulty may, perhaps, be made as to the great antiquity of the name of Arviragus, and of his having lived in the first century, prior to the supposed use of the cross or *chirho*, I may observe that the cross, as an emblem of Christianity, was clearly used in the first century, as we know from the writings of Barnabas. M. Perret, in his

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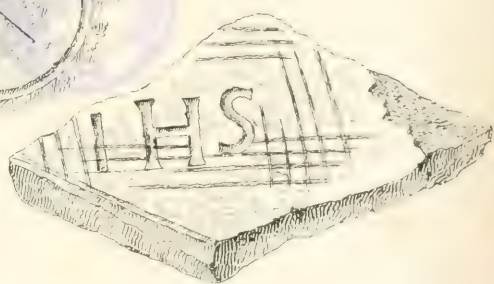
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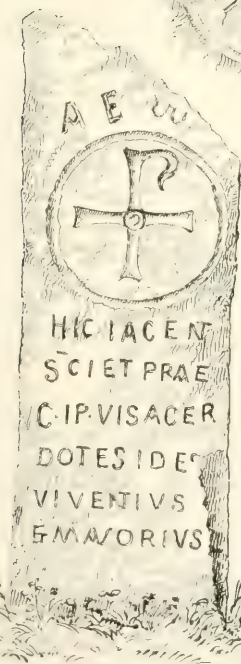
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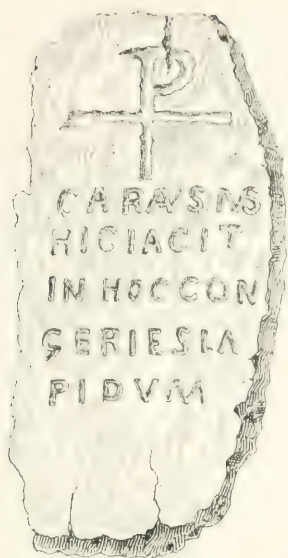
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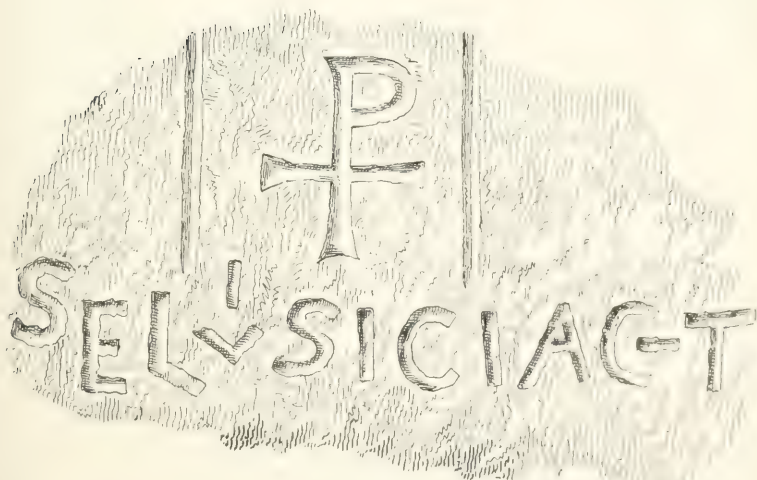
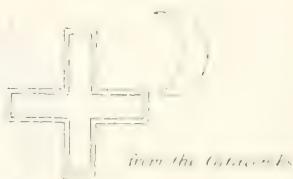
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10.



great work on the catacombs, has given various forms of the cross and the *chirho*; one of the latter symbols being cut upon the stone of the martyr Marius, A.D. 117.¹ The same symbol likewise occurs over the name of the martyr Alexander, A.D. 161.

In endeavouring to trace Christian indications, we should not forget to notice the *crescent*, which was a conspicuous characteristic of the faith, as shewn in the catacombs. (See Didron, p. 159.) In the second century both Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus mention the cross; so does Tertullian in the third century. This very interesting and important branch of archæology, as affecting the early history of our own country, has yet to be investigated.

I believe Dr. Bruce has remarked that, amongst the extensive remains of Roman art along the Wall in Northumberland, no Christian emblem, except that on the Corbridge silver cup, has been discovered. To this I may observe that several crosses of the Greek or Maltese pattern occur; but the cross *alone* may be mere ornament, and cannot be taken as evidence of Christianity. However, there is one remarkable triangular stone (fig. 9) which represents, amongst other devices, the cross and the crescent in conjunction, as in the tomb of the martyr Lannus, of the catacombs (fig. 10). There is no doubt but that these combined symbols refer to Christianity. And what is more remarkable is that the stone was found at Chesterholm (*Vindolana*),² which was garrisoned by the fourth cohort of Gauls,—Gaul, as we know, being completely christianised at a very early period. The other devices, the sun, the cock, the triangle, etc., would lead to the assumption that the stone was the work of one of the Gnostic Christians.

To enumerate the vast number of coins exhibiting the Christian monogram, found in Britain, and belonging to those emperors and usurpers immediately succeeding Constantine, would extend this paper too far: they, however, properly belong to the subject of pre-Augustine Christianity. Those of Magnentius and his brothers are remarkably fine

¹ The inscription to Marius is given thus (Lysons's *Our British Ancestors*, p. 224): "Tempore Adriani imperatoris Marius adolescens Dux Militum qui satis vixit dum vitam pro Cho. [Christo] cum sanguine consunxit in pace tandem quievit. Benemerentes cum lachrymis et metu posuerunt I. D. VI."

² See *The Waller Book of the Roman Wall*, by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., London, 1863, pp. 144-146.

examples. Before Constantine, I believe, there is nothing, except, perhaps, that most interesting Hebrew coin described in Walsh's *Essay on Ancient Coins*, which was found in Ireland in 1812, and which exhibits a striking portrait of our Saviour, which was evidently the work of some very early believer. The only other discovery in Britain I can remember, which is attributed to an earlier period than Constantine, is mentioned by Usher (*Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*, c. iii), and consisted of two coins bearing the image of a king, with the cross and the letters LUC, which he supposes to refer to Lucius, the British prince in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

ON SIR ANTHONY BROWNE, STANDARD-BEARER TO KING HENRY VIII, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY GEORGE R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE period of the Reformation must be, to all students of history, one of the most interesting as well as the most instructive of which they read. From it we derive all the blessings of the freedom of thought and expression we so happily enjoy; and through it we have learned lessons of the greatest usefulness and moderation, in all that relates to our conduct as a governing body over those who, from family association or from education, have been brought up in that religion which, till the time of Henry VIII, was the accepted one for the country in which we live. Such thoughts as these must surely occupy the minds of all those who, as antiquaries or archæologists, seek to unravel the individual history of families, or to dive into the motives of action which operated in the breasts of those who were not only our ancestors, but who, through their fortitude in adversity, their fidelity under temptation, and their courage in the field, have rendered their names a "household word" among us; and their examples, with rich and poor, high or low, something indeed worthy of being followed, whether they have been of the older or the newer order of worshipping the great Creator, which the Reformation introduced; and which, indeed, had much to do with the fortunes of the subject of this paper.

Sir Anthony Browne may be fairly taken as an evidence of the truth of that principle which ought to be, and no

doubt is, of the greatest comfort to all aspiring minds, viz., that devotion to a worthy cause, or a course of upright action, must result in the achievement of all a noble heart can wish; and for which the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" may be well despised, if not altogether disregarded.

Sir Anthony Browne, then, was descended from a family whose actions and deeds were already well known to history, and whose relations had extended very largely into the noble and most influential classes of the kingdom; and yet, like the condition of almost every other family of note or distinction, his was derived from the people, and boasted to be of that motley and discordant group which has frequently been described as constituting the followers of Duke William of Normandy, whose coming to these shores, eight hundred years ago this year of grace 1866, laid the foundation of the present greatness and prosperity of this our much loved country.¹

The following very interesting remarks on the derivation of the name of Browne, I have had given me by the Rev. Charles H. Browne of Cheltenham, a descendant of the illustrious Sir Anthony, and whose beautifully and elaborately drawn pedigrees of the family of Browne and Montague I have had the honour, on several late occasions, to exhibit at the meetings of our Society.

"The name of Browne is not derived, as many people believe, from the colour brown, but boasts of a much higher origin: even the fanciful idea that some writers have given, that it is derived from a Norman tower or castle, called "Brun," is not a true one, as it is now well understood to be taken from the name of an office, or position of dignity, allied to chieftainship, which in a Scandinavian form is known as "brân" or "bren"; and which was, with the nume-

¹ The family of Browne was, no doubt, derived from the Normans, for on the Roll of Battle Abbey, amongst others occurs the name of Browne. On Stowe's "auncient Role," which he received from "Master Thomas Scriven," as containing the surnames of the "chefe noblemen and gentlemen which came into England with William the Conqueror," the name does not appear, although that of Montague occurs on both lists or rolls. The original Roll is said to have perished in the great fire at Cowdray Castle, whither Sir Anthony or his successors had carried it from Battle Abbey. Of all the copies of this famous deed, that of Leland, made in Henry VIII's reign, is generally thought to be the most reliable, as the monks, no doubt, to gratify the pride of some of the great families, falsified and Frenchified names on the so-called copies they made of the Roll; but Leland copied his from the Roll itself, and states, in notes to his copy, that some particular marks are the same in the original.

rous tribes of the north-west of Europe, the title of the chieftain or head of the clan. In later days we get, in the same parts of the world, Brendenburg; once, doubtless, Brenni-borg, the town of the "bränn" or chieftain. So, again, in Brunswick, the town or wick of the Brän or Bren. From this may possibly have come the French Brun, from which we get easily enough Brown and Browne.

The name of Gray is also not the name of a colour, but stands precisely in a like position with Brown: it clearly meaning the head of some high office, as in the modern form in German, we all know "grew," or "graf," or "grave," are titles of distinction, as instanced in Land-grave, Mar-grave, etc.

In Romish times we know that the father of the great British chieftain, Caractacus, was Brân: and Brennus, who pillaged the city, marked, no doubt, the chieftainship he so proudly held.

From the above title we have, no doubt, derived the word "baron," the exact origin of which it is impossible to trace, although, with the Welsh "vavesour," it rises superior to the "comes," "earls," and "earldermen," of late times. The proper Latin rendering of "bran" is "baronius," although in earlier times it is written "varo," "varro-nis." The origin of the word is to be found in the patriarchal period, it being derived from the Hebrew, the root being "bar," the "on" being an augment or emphasis. "Bar" is a son, the choice one, or the heir as we now call him, designated by the father or the voice of the tribe, out of all the sons of the father, with the power of life and death, as the right of an independent ruler.

There was a Sir Anthony Browne in Richard II's time, for we have an account in Lilly's *Pedigree of Nobility*, and other MSS. circa 1623, of his being made a Knight of the Bath in July 1377, at the coronation of that unfortunate king. This member of the family left issue, two sons, Sir Robert Browne and Sir Stephen Browne; and the latter, according to Holinshed's Chronicle, becoming lord mayor of London in Henry VI's reign (1439), despatched ships to the Prussian coast for cargoes of rye, when, through a falling off in the produce of wheat, that grain became very scarce and dear (three shillings a bushel), and distributed the rye he had imported amongst the poor without charge; thus mate-

rially reducing the price of wheat in his native country, to the discontent of the corn-factors of the period, without doubt. Sir Robert, however, Stephen's eldest brother, continued the family through his son, Sir Thomas Browne, who held the post of treasurer to Henry VI; and in the middle of his long though unhappy reign, was commissioned with others to meet at Rochester, to summon and inquire, upon the oaths of certain persons, concerning a disturbance that had occurred at sea between Richard Earl of Warwick ("the king-maker and last of the barons," as he has since been called) and his retinue, and some citizens of Lubeck, the free city, who were under a treaty of friendship with Henry.

In the right of his wife, Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Fitz-Alan *alias* Arundel, knight (brother of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel), he had the Castle of Becchworth, Surrey; now called Betchworth, near Dorking, and the property of the late Sir Benjamin Brodie, who died there. This issue of this marriage was,—1, Anthony; 2, Sir George Brown; 3, William; 4, Thomas; and 5, Sir Robert; five sons in all. Of which issue, Anthony was the most celebrated, although George, his second brother, in Richard the Third's time became notorious for being by proclamation ordered to be apprehended for aiding and abetting the so-called rebel Buckingham.

Sir Robert married Mary, a daughter of Sir William Mallet, Knight, and left an only daughter, Eleanor, who married twice, and on each occasion to men of good condition.

Sir Thomas Browne had also a daughter, Catherine, who married Humphrey Sackville of Buckhurst, in the county of Suffolk, an ancestor of the Duke of Dorset, by which marriage the family became first connected with royal blood.

But of Anthony, the eldest son of this Sir Thomas Browne, it is now necessary to speak, as he was the father of Sir Anthony Browne, the subject of this paper, and one of whom also his king was justly proud. His seat was Cowdray Castle, near Midhurst, co. Sussex, and he was constituted Governor of Queenborough Castle, Kent, as well as made standard-bearer throughout the whole realm of England and elsewhere, by Henry VI. His success at Newark-on-Trent as a soldier, when the Earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnell, the pretender to the throne, were defeated, brought him especially before his Majesty's notice, and he

was knighted for his gallant behaviour. Other honours were also bestowed upon him, and the annual sum of 25,000 francs in gold due from Louis XI to the king, was twice ordered to be paid to him, as Constable of the Castle of Calais.

His last will and testament was dated at Calais, September 25, 1505, wherein he is described as "Lieutenant" of the castle; in which he ordered his body to be buried at St. Nicholas's Chapel, in the Resurrection Church, near his first wife, and bequeathed to the brotherhood of the said church, ten shillings, and to the Lord Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, a standing cup of silver, also two others to Sir Edward Poyning and Sir Hugh Conway, whom he appointed overseers of his will, with Lucy,¹ his wife, *ex-ecutrix*. By the said Lucy, who was the fourth daughter of John Nevill, Marquis of MONTAGU² or Montacute, and coheir and widow of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwarke, co. York, he had issue, our Sir Anthony and two daughters; Elizabeth, who became the wife of Henry Somerset, Earl of Worcester, ancestor to the Dukes of Beaufort, and Lucy, who married Sir Thomas Clifford, knight, third son to Henry, Earl of Cumberland.

Anthony Browne, the subject of this paper, in the fourteenth year of Henry VIII (1523) was knighted for his valour in the assault and taking of the town of Morlaix in Brittany, when, with the Earl of Surrey, Lord High Admiral, he conveyed from Southampton the Emperor Charles I. to the port of Biscay, and this seems to have been the commencement of the good and great fortune he enjoyed in his lifetime. We also find through Hollinshed, that two years after, being one of the esquires of the king's body, he was one of the challengers during the feast of Christmas, before the king and his court assembled at the palace of Greenwich, for jousts and tournaments and other feats of arms, and the following year was made Lieutenant of the

¹ This was the Lady Lucy Neville, widow of Sir William Fitzwilliam, and one of the daughters and co-heiress of John Nevill, Marquis of Montacute, brother of the Earl of Warwick. She was descended, in various ways, from Edward I, Edward III, and John of Gaunt; and also, through her cousin, the celebrated Lady Anne of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, connected with the royal family of England.

² It was through this connexion with the Montague family that that title was taken by the Brownes, when, in Mary's reign, the son of Sir Anthony was made a viscount.

Isle of Man and the other islands belonging thereto, during the minority of the Earl of Derby, whose family continued to hold sovereign rights in Mona, till the Civil War ended them by the fall of the island into the hands of the Cromwellians, after Lady Derby's heroic defence.

In 1527, Sir Anthony Browne, with Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, Knight of the Garter, and others, were sent to Francis I, to invest that prince with the ensigns of the Order of the Garter, as also to take oath that he should not violate the league he had entered lately into with Henry VIII. In the twenty-fourth year of the king's reign (1533) he was again in company with the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Rochford, brother to the queen, Anne Boleyn, and Sir William Paulet, Comptroller of the Household, sent in embassy to the King of France, and to accompany that monarch to Nice, and also to confer with his Holiness the pope at that time there, concerning his delay in procuring the king's divorce.

In 1539 Henry made Sir Anthony Master of the Horse,¹ a post considered of a very high character in those days, as it is described in the Patent Roll (30th year of his reign) as "a grant of that eminent office," and the yearly payment or fee of £40 for its service was attached to it; this office was not a permanent one, but the king, lavishing great favour on Sir Anthony, made him Master of the Horse for life the following year, March 12, and on the 23rd April (St. George's Day) ensuing (1540), he and the Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, were elected Knights of the Garter. Sir Anthony's installation plate is the fifth in the twenty-first stall in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and runs as follows :

"Du vaillant Chevalier Anthony Brown, grand Esquire du Roy nostre Sovereigne-Sire, frere et Compagnon du resplendissant Ordre du Gartier, fuit installé a Windesoore, le 8 jour de May en l'an du regne du Nostre Sovereigne Henry le 8 par le Grace de Dieu, Roy d'Angleterre et de France, Seignr. d'Irlande, Defenseur de la Foy, et en Terre Supreme Chief d'Eglise Anglicane, 32."

But the year before these honours, viz., 1539, Henry, on dissolution of the monasteries, had (according to Collins, p.

¹ From the Letters Patent of Henry VIII, dated Aug. 8, 1538. At this time also he had granted to him the free church of the Castle of Hastings, of which we have already had an account from the pen of Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec. See *ante*, p. 124.

14, vol. vi), in the thirtieth year of his reign, granted to Sir Anthony Browne, "the house and suite of the last monastery of Battle in com. Sussex, to him his heirs and assigns for ever," the greatest evidence yet offered to him of his sovereign's continued regard.

The grant¹ took place three months after the last abbot, John Hammond and his monks had been called upon to surrender "the monastery of Battel, of the order of St. Benedict, and the convent of the same place" to the king's commissioners, Sir John Gage (whose daughter Alice was Sir Anthony's first wife) and Richard Layton, consisting, so runs the charter, of "all the church, bell tower, and churchyard of the said monastery or abbey; also all the messuages, edifices, granges, stables, dove houses, leads, etc. within or adjoining to the site, circuit, or precinct of the same, etc., etc." "To hold to the said Anthony Browne for ever of the king and his successors, *in capite*, by the service of two knights' fees, and a yearly rent of twelve pounds, in full of all rents, demands."

Another instance of the attachment that Henry exhibited towards Sir Anthony Browne may be found in the fact, that in 1540, four years after his marriage with Jane Seymour, who died in childbirth, he entrusted to Sir Anthony the somewhat delicate task of representing him at the Court of John of Cleves, whose sister Anne Henry had agreed to marry, as she was a Protestant princess, and it suited Henry's views at that time to consider himself one also. At Cowdray Castle, before the fatal fire which destroyed that palatial residence many years afterwards, and of which more anon, there used to be a portrait of Sir Anthony Browne, in the court suit which he had donned for the occasion of personating his master as bridegroom when he was acting as proxy for him after the marriage ceremony had been performed, one leg being arrayed in white satin for the purpose of being thrust into the bed of the princess, in token of the real husband's rights over his wife.²

¹ Other writers state that the grant was made August 18th, 1538, which would be the twenty-ninth year of Henry's reign. The dissolution of monasteries not having £200 per ann. in revenue, commenced in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, viz. 1536; and in the thirty-first, all the rest throughout the kingdom were dissolved.

² Horace Walpole, who was at Cowdray Castle in 1749, describing the portrait of Anthony Browne in his wedding proxy suit, thus remarks, after his quaint and satirical fashion, "He is in blue and white; only the right leg is

The king continued to shower favours upon his now fully established servant, commissioning him in the thirty-fourth year of his reign to accompany the Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant-General of the English army, with above 200,000 men, into Scotland, where he is said to have distinguished himself greatly.¹

The year after the king, confiding in Sir Anthony's continued loyalty, valour, industry, foresight and care, commissioned him, with the Lord Chancellor and others, to levy, array, and try all men able to bear arms in the counties of Surrey, Sussex, Southampton, Wilts, Oxon and Berks, and to arm them according to their degrees, and to muster them in proper places; and to march all his liege subjects so arrayed and tried, as well men-at-arms and archers, as other horse and foot, by themselves or others, by them deputed to suppress his enemies as often as occasion shall require. In the same year he was made Justice in Eyre of all the forests beyond Trent, and in the following was constituted standard bearer to the king, as his father had been in the reign of Henry VII, and was in such continued favour with his sovereign as to be appointed by him one of the executors, with trust likewise to be of the council, and guardian to Prince Edward his son, afterwards Edward VI, who left him also a legacy in his will of £300.

Sir Anthony was thus distinguished throughout the king's reign, and seems, unlike most other of that unprincipled monarch's favourites, to have retained a hold upon his fickle and vindictive nature in a marvellous manner; indeed, so much so, that when it was certain the king's maladies were incurable, although his temper had grown more overbearing than ever, Sir Anthony was selected for the dangerous and unpleasant duty of telling the monarch of his approaching end, which duty he no doubt carried out with the same high moral courage and conscience which

entirely white, which was robbed for the act of putting into bed to her. But when the king came to marry her, he only put his leg into bed to kick her out"; using, by the way, expressions of a most unkingly character; which, however, Walpole discreetly omits.

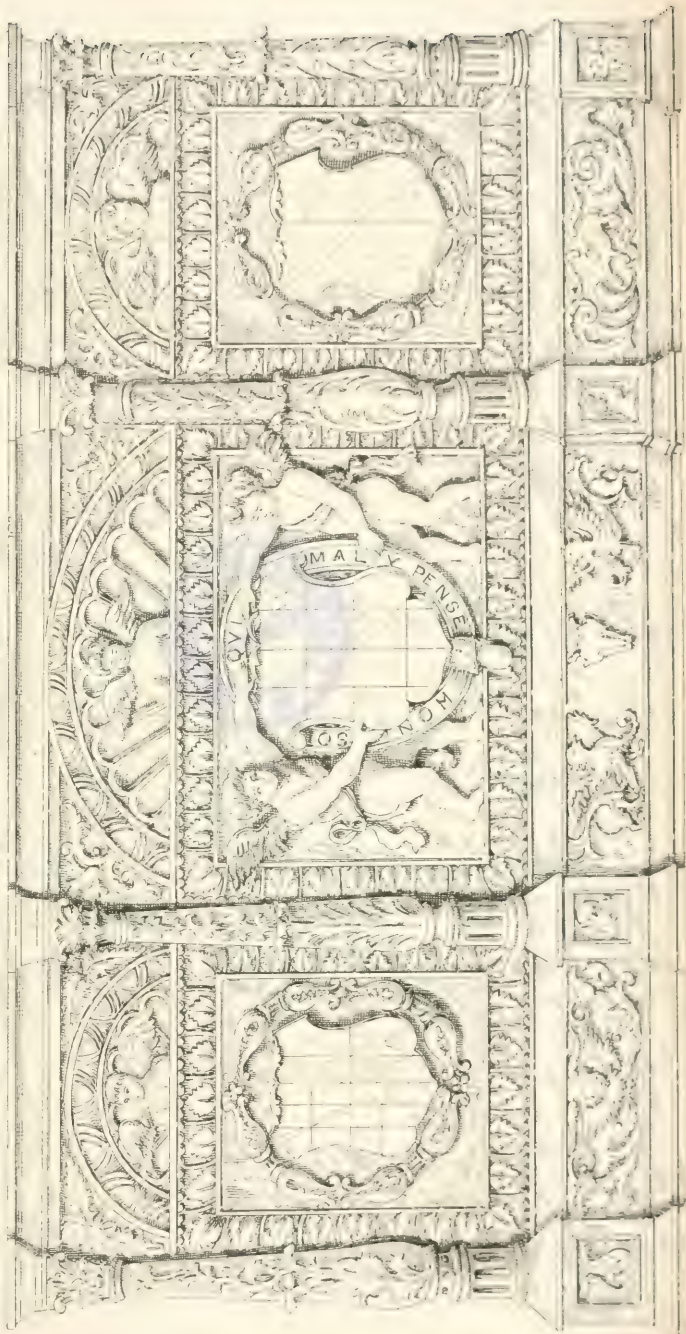
¹ In the thirty-sixth year, or two years after he went with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to Boulogne, and encamped there with the then lieutenant of the king, on the east side of the town, the king following some little time after. The town was nearly yielding to the king when certain ambassadors from Francis, the French monarch, arriving at Badloe Castle, "to treat of a general accord," the Duke of Suffolk and this Sir Anthony Browne, were sent to confer with him. (Rymer, vol. xv, p. 32.)

had helped him so well with his tyrannical master. A few months afterwards Sir Anthony followed his sovereign to the grave,¹ and was succeeded by his son.

Lloyd thus sums up the character of this great man, of whose interesting exploits and romantic history a considerable volume might be written. "Three things facilitate all things : 1. Knowledge, 2. Temper, 3. Time. Knowledge our knight had, either of his own or others, whom he commended in whatever he went about, laying the ground of matters down in writing, and debating them with his friends before he declared himself in Council. A temperance he had that kept him out of the reach of others, and brought others within his. Time he took always driving, never being driven by his business, which is rather a huddle than a performance when in haste ; there was something that all admired, and which was more, something that all were pleased with in this man's actions. The times were dark, his carriage so too ; the waves were boisterous, but he, the solid rock, or the well guided ship that could go with the tide. He mastered his own passions, and others too, and both by time and opportunity ; therefore, he died with that

¹ This occurred on May 6, 1548, at Byfleet House, Surrey, which he had built for himself. He was buried in the family vault at Battle Abbey in Sussex, where, in the chancel, is the noble tomb of white marble, once ornamented with gold and colour ; although little of either now remains. Two recumbent figures are on the top of the tomb, which is of an altar character. Sir Anthony, in his mantle, with collar and star as a knight of the garter, is in full armour ; his head resting on a helmet, and at his feet a greyhound, and not a wolf, as it has been erroneously described, chained and gouged with a coronet of gold. His first wife, Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, one of the commissioners for the suppression of holy houses, is by his side in robes and coif ; her head resting on a cushion, beneath a handsome and very rare canopy, which to this day attests the full beauty of its design and execution. At her feet is a small dog with a collar. Underneath, in compartments, are coats of arms of the families of Browne and Gage, ornamented with several cherubs curiously cut in marble and painted ; and around and about the upper edge of the tomb is the following inscription recording the date of the death of Lady Alice, but oddly enough leaving out the date of his own, which has led many to believe that the tomb was ordered in the lifetime of the worthy knight, although it is by no means conclusive evidence of the fact, as there are many instances of a similar nature to be found in the monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which may as well indicate some interruption to the work in hand as anything else :

"Here lyethe . the Right . Honorable . Sir Antony Browne . Knyght of the Gartere . Master of the Kyng's Maiesties Horcys and one of the Honorable Privie Council of our most dread Soverayne Lorde, and Vic Kyng Henry the Eyght : and dame Alis His wyfe . which Alis decesid the . 31 day of March aⁿ Dm. 1548. And the said Sir Antony Browne decesid the day of aⁿ Dm. 1 . On whois sowls, and all Cristenchv' have mercy. Amen."





peace the state wanted, and with that universal repute the statesmen of those troublesome times enjoyed not."

Sir Anthony Browne, as has been said before, was twice married, the first time to Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, Knight of the Garter, and by whom he had four sons and three daughters, namely,—1. Anthony, his son and heir, and afterwards first Viscount Montagu, which title he chose by reason that the Lady Lucy, his grandmother, was one of the daughters of, and coheir to, John Neville, Marquess Montagu (1554, Mary's reign); 2. William Browne, Esq., who married Anne, daughter and coheir of Hugh Hastings, who held Elfing in com. Norfolk, and from whom the Brownes of Elfing descend; 3. Francis, who married Anne, daughter of Sir William Goring of Burton of Sussex, and died 1615; 4. Henry, who died 1610; 5. Mary, married to Lord John Grey of Targo, second son to Thomas, Marquess of Dorset and ancestor of the Earls of Stamford; 6. Mabel, married to Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare in Ireland, and 7. Lucy, married to Thomas Roper of Eltham in Kent, ancestor of Lord Teynham.

Sir Anthony's second marriage was with the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, who was the second daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and, surviving her husband, became the third wife of Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln of that name, and ancestor of the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord High Admiral of England, who died the 16th of January, 1584, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the countess, on her decease shortly after, was also interred. A noble monument to their memories, having two effigies lying on a curiously wrought mat, and at the sides their eight children, five sons and three daughters, kneeling on cushions, being erected over their resting places.

Anthony, the eldest son, seems to have inherited many of the virtues and talents of his father, and was one of the forty knights made at the coronation of King Edward VI. He was also appointed Master of the Horse in Queen Mary's reign, and at the time of her marriage with Philip of Spain, "and in consideration of the good and laudable service which their beloved and faithful servant, Sir Anthony Browne, hath done, and still continues to do, as also the nobility of birth, early care, loyalty, and honour," she created the

said Sir Anthony Browne, Knight, Viscount Montagu, to have and to hold the same honour to him and the heirs male of his body, and further granted to him twenty marks yearly, payable out of the fines and profits of the county of Surry, by patent dated at Hampton Court, September 27th, 1554. He was also sent to the Pope, by order of Parliament, with Thomas Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, for reducing this realm to an union with the Church of Rome, and to the obedience of that see. He was installed a Knight of the Garter at Windsor on October 22nd, 1555.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was naturally left out of her Privy Council, being as staunch a Romanist as his father had been before him ; and in the second year of her reign, on that grand motion in Parliament for abolishing the Pope's supremacy, and restoring it to the crown of this realm, he was the only peer, who with Francis, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, then voted against it, out of a sentiment of zeal and honour, "urging," according to Camden, "that it would be a very disgraceful reflection for England, which was so well reconciled to the Apostolic See, to make so sudden a revolt from it ; and moreover, that the hazard would be as great as the scandal, should the Pope thunder out his excommunication, and expose the nation by that means, to the resentment of its neighbouring enemies upon the score of this defection. That he, for his part, had by authority of Parliament, and in the name of the whole body of England, tendered obedience to the Pope, the performance of which he could by no means dispense with."¹

This manly declaration seems rather to have pleased Elizabeth than otherwise, for we find that she sent him ambassador to Spain to satisfy Philip II what just cause she had to send an army into Scotland, and to represent to him, that the proceedings of the Guises might be of as dangerous consequence to his provinces in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain, as to England. He was also one of the Peers who sat on the trial of the beautiful and ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots. He died at Horsley in Surry, Oct. 19th,

¹ Camden makes this comment on the first Viscount Montague: "Queen Elizabeth having experienced his loyalty, had a great esteem for him (though he was a stiff Romanist), and paid him a visit some time before his death ; for she was sensible that his regard for that religion was owing to his cradle and education, and proceeded rather from principle than faction, as some people's faith did."

1592, and was buried at Cowdray the 6th of December following. He was twice married, and was succeeded by his grandson, Anthony Maria Browne, "who very commendably followed the good example set him by his grandfather," as old Camden hath it.

Of this nobleman there is a very interesting paper published in the seventh volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, being founded on a *Booke of Orders and Rules*, and edited from the original MS. preserved at Easebourne Priory (and, no doubt, saved from the fire at Cowdray House), by Sir Sibbald David Scott, Bart., one of the Vice-Presidents of this Congress. This paper contains much valuable information, and gives a curious insight into the mode of life of a nobleman of position and power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and from a picture drawn by the editor, of the daily life at Cowdray, founded on the information contained in the MS. aforesaid, a most amusing scene is presented to the reader. This occurs at p. 177 of the volume; but time will not permit of more than a short extract on this occasion, for the benefit of those who have not read the volume referred to :

"Ten o'clock has just struck, and the household is mustering in the magnificent Buck Hall, it being 'covering time,' or the hour for preparing the tables for dinner. The steward, in his gown, is standing at the uppermost part of the hall, over against his appointed table, surrounded by most of the chief officers and some visitors; occasionally also travellers, who had availed themselves of the hospitality of those days. The tables are neatly covered with white cloths, saltcellars, and trenchers, under the supervision of the usher of the hall. The yeomen of the ewry and pantry, conducted by the yeoman usher, pass through to the great dining chamber. When they arrive at the middle of that room, they bow reverentially (although no one else be present), and they do the same upon approaching the table. The usher, kissing his hand, places it on the centre of the dining-table, to indicate to his subordinate of the ewry, who kisses the table, where the cloth is to be laid. The yeoman of the pantry then steps forth, and places the salt, trenchers for my lord and lady, rolls, knives 'hafted with silver,' and spoons, making a little obeisance, or inclination of the head, as each article is laid down, and a low bow when he has finished. The trio then severally make solemn reverences, and retire in the same order as they arrived. Next in succession comes the yeoman of the cellar, who dresses the sideboard or buffet (cup-borde) with wines, flagons, drinking-cups, and such vessels as are consigned to his charge. The yeoman

of the buttery follows him, and brings up beer and ale, and arranges the pewter pots, jugs, and so forth, on the sideboard or buffet."

The dinner-time has now fully come, and the lords' commands being taken by a gentleman usher, who knocks respectfully at the door of his lord's apartments, the dishes, with great state and careful watching, are carried forward, and placed upon the table in the dining chamber, where, soon after, the viscount leading the viscountess, and followed by their gentlemen and gentlewomen, proceed to their seats at the table, and the banquet begins.

This viscount Montague died in 1629, and was succeeded by his son, Francis, as third viscount; but in 1650 the estates of this nobleman were sequestrated, and two-thirds seized by the Commonwealth, as he was a papist. Those at Battle Abbey were valued at £1,200 per annum; and one William Yolden, of Blackdown, offered to pay £800 per ann. for the two-thirds. This unfortunate nobleman, whose goods and papers, etc., were also plundered and burnt at his houses, died in 1682, and was buried at Midhurst. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Francis, fourth viscount; but he dying without issue, in 1708, was succeeded by his only brother, Henry, who became fifth Viscount Montague. This nobleman left issue, one son and six daughters; his son Anthony succeeding him, as sixth viscount, in June 1717. In 1719 this nobleman sold Battle Abbey and the estates thereof to Sir Thomas Webster, Bart., and thus ceased the interest of the family of Browne in this noble and historical property. The Viscount married Barbara, daughter of Sir John Webbe of Hathorp, county of Gloucester, and of Oldstock in Wiltshire, Bart.; and by her had two sons, whereof the eldest died at Rouen in France, aged one year; and Anthony, who became the seventh viscount on the death of his father in April 23rd, 1767.

This viscount married, July 1765, Frances Mackworth, daughter of Herbert Mackworth, Esq., and relict of Lord Halkerton, by whom he had issue a son, George Samuel, born 26th June, 1769; and a daughter, Elizabeth Mary, born 5th Feb. 1767. On the death of his father, George Samuel became eighth Viscount Montague; and, losing his life in attempting to descend the falls of Schaffhausen in 1793, was succeeded by his cousin, Anthony Browne, who dying without male issue, early in the present century, the

once great and noble family of Browne, Viscounts Montague, became extinct.¹

Having now rapidly glanced at the general family history of the Montagues, it remains, to make this paper more complete, to turn back once more to Sir Anthony Browne himself, and to enter upon the more interesting if not romantic details, connected with his second marriage, and the grant of Battle Abbey to him and "his descendants for ever."

Sir Anthony's second wife was a more celebrated lady than his first; she was the second daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare, the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, and was the issue of that unfortunate nobleman's second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset by Cicely his wife, daughter and heir of William Bonville, Lord Bonville and Harrington. This Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was a great beauty, and had been brought up with the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, afterwards Queens Mary and Elizabeth of England, at Hunsdon House, as she was by descent and relationship their second cousin, her mother being a grand-daughter of the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Widdville or Woodville, Earl Rivers, and relict of Sir Thomas Grey of Groby, whose beauty and high character had caused Edward IV to make her his queen. Thus again was Sir Anthony's family connected with royalty; for his second wife's mother, the Countess of Kildare, was niece in half-blood to King Edward the Fifth and his brother Richard Duke of York, who were both so cruelly murdered in the Tower; and to the Princess Elizabeth, in her own right Queen of England, and wife of King Henry the Seventh; consequently she was cousin to the husband's royal patron and friend—Henry the Eighth.

At Hunsdon House, Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was seen by Henry Howard, the poet, Earl of Surrey: and by the sonnet he has left behind him in commemoration of her attractions, it is not only natural to conceive that he admired her, but that he would have married her if he could.

¹ The *Titles of the family* were, Anthony Brown or Browne, Viscount Montague. *Creations*.—Viscount Montague (the name of a family on the Roll of Battle Abbey) by letters patent of September 21, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary (1554). *Arms*.—*Sable*, three lions passant in bend between two double cotises *argent*. *Crest*.—On a wreath an eagle displayed *vert*. *Supporters*.—Two wolves *argent*, with each a plain collar and chain *or*. *Motto*.—"Suivez raison."

The sonnet, although by no means the best he ever wrote, is well worthy a place in a paper of this description, although it has frequently been in print :—

“ From Tuscan came my ladie’s worthie race,
 Fair Florence was sometime her ancient seat ;
 The Western Ile, whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Camber’s cliffes, did give her livelie heat.
 Fostered she was with milke of Irish breste ;
 Her sire an earle, her dame of prince’s blood.
 From tender years in Britaine she doth rest
 With king’s child, where she tastes costlie food.
 Hunsden did first present her to mine eie.
 Bright is her hew, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine ;
 And Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.
 Her beautie of mind, her vertues from above ;
 Happie is he that can obtain her love.”

“ Windsor, alas !” refers to Surrey’s imprisonment in that castle, where many of his sonnets were composed ; and the “ dame of prince’s bloude” applies to her grandmother, the Marchioness of Dorset, who was daughter and heiress of Henry Duke of Exeter by the Lady Anne, sister of Edward the Fourth. This lady has ever since been known as the “ Fair Geraldine”, although by that confusion which is frequently caused by the careless writing which is unfortunately too much in fashion even in the most important matters, the first wife of Anthony Browne, Alice, is in some works called by the second one’s just *sobriquet*.¹ This “ Fair Geraldine” had no children by Sir Anthony Browne ; but marrying soon after her husband’s demise, she had a large family, as has already been stated, by her second husband, Sir Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln.

Having thus referred to the beautiful young wife of Sir Anthony, it is now time to mention a very remarkable and interesting event which occurred in this family, and that is the marriage of Mabel Browne, second daughter of Sir Anthony by his first wife, with Gerald Fitzgerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, and brother to the Lady Elizabeth, Sir Anthony Browne’s second wife. A daughter marrying her mother’s brother is an unusual occurrence, and would in

¹ At p. 529 of the *History and Antiquities of Sussex*, by Thomas Walker Horsfield (2 vols. 4to., 1835), occurs the following note in a reference to the tomb of Sir Anthony Browne : “ It is said that Alice was a great beauty, and celebrated by the Earl of Surrey, at the tournaments, under the name of the ‘ fair Geraldine.’ ”

these days give rise to no little remark: but as there seems to be scarcely any comment made upon the match in the records of the time, we must suppose that since it was not exactly a blood relationship, the families most concerned entertained no serious objection to the alliance. Mabel's husband's career had been a most romantic one, for he was, as a child, hunted down by the rancour of Henry VIII, who had not only executed his half brother, Thomas tenth Earl of Kildare, with his five uncles,—Sir James, Oliver, Richard, Sir John, and Walter Fitzgerald,—but by keeping his father, Gerald ninth earl, in the Tower, and for many years cruelly treating him, caused him to die, after the execution of his son and brothers, of grief and pain. Gerald had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and was a man of high estate and character, who at times had been in much favour with his sovereign, although he was always hated and envied by Wolsey. His death took place on December 12, 1534, and he was buried in the chapel of the Tower, as an inscription on a chest found there in 1580 attests.

After many stirring adventures in Ireland and in Scotland, the young Gerald was sent, in the custody of his tutor, Thomas Leverons, who was foster-brother to his father, and was afterwards created bishop of Kildare, as a meet reward for his fidelity, to France. Thence his tutor, having reason suspect the sincerity of the French (Sir John Wallop, the English ambassador, demanding him in his master's name), removed him secretly to Flanders, whither he had no sooner conveyed him, than an Irishman, one James Sherlock, a spy, arrived in pursuit of him. Leverons waited on the Governor and desired his protection from Sherlock's wicked intention to betray the innocent child to his enemies, whereupon the Governor sent for Sherlock and examined him, and finding him guilty, and without reasonable defence, he imprisoned him, until the generous youth interceded for his liberation.

From Flanders they went to Brussels, where Charles V held his court; here, too, the hatred of Henry pursued him, and he was again demanded by the English ambassador, but Charles answered, that he had nothing to do with him, and for aught he knew he intended to make but a short stay in the country, and so sent him to the Bishop

of Liege, allowing him for his support one hundred crowns a month. The bishop gave him an honourable reception, and placed him in an abbey of monks for greater safety of his person, whence Cardinal Pole, his kinsman by his mother's side, sent for him to Rome, receiving him very kindly, and gave him an education becoming his high position under the care of the Bishop of Verona and the Cardinal of Mantua; Leverons his tutor being admitted through the cardinal's procurement a member of the English house in Rome, called St. Thomas's Hospital.

After some year and a-half the Cardinal Pole sent for him to Rome, and the Duke of Mantua gave him an allowance annually of three hundred crowns. Continuing in Rome some three years an inmate of the Cardinal's house, he travelled with his relative's permission to Naples, and becoming acquainted with the Knights of Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta; thence he went to Tripoli, on the coast of Barbary, then belonging to those knights, where he remained a short time, serving valiantly against the Turks, or rather Moors, and returned with a rich booty, first to Malta and then to Rome.

The cardinal was so well satisfied with his kinsman's prowess and doings, that he increased his yearly pension to £300, and shortly after preferred him to the service of Cosmo, Duke of Florence, who made him his Master of the Horse, with the yearly pension of three hundred ducats, on the same terms his other pensions were granted, viz., during life, or until restored to his honours and estates.

Returning to Rome, some three years after, he, one day, in the heat of the chace, when accompanying Cardinal Farnese, Pope Paul III's nephew, to hunt the stag, narrowly escaped from death, and as the anecdote is a well attested one and curious, it is here given. In the heat of the chace, and being alone, his horse leaped into a deep pit, which had been concealed from view. Finding himself falling, the young man clung to some roots of trees by which he hung, leaving his unfortunate horse to precede him to the bottom of this deep pit; but, at last tired out, he relinquished his hold and fell on his dead horse. In the pit he remained ankle deep in water some three hours, no one coming to relieve him in spite of his cries for help. When the chace was over, his hound, missing his master, tracked

him to the edge of the precipice, where he stood howling over him, and no doubt encouraging his unhappy master to keep a good heart by his appearance. The Cardinal, at last perceiving something was wrong by the manner of the dog, hastened with his attendants to the spot, and seeing how matters were, soon relieved his kinsman by ropes and other accessories from the peril he was in, causing one of the company to be let down in a basket, who brought the now nearly exhausted Gerald to the surface and to life.

Our hero remained abroad till the joyful news reached him of King Henry's death, and he then came to London in company with some foreign ambassadors, and his friend and tutor, if not preserver, Father Thomas Leverons.

It was at a masque or ball in Edward VI's time that Gerald met with Mabel Browne, and as he was one of the handsomest young men of that age, and she a very beautiful young woman, it is not surprising that they both fell at once in love with one another—indeed, whether in war or peace, such passages have been common enough in all days. His marriage with Mabel, the daughter of his king's honoured servant and former guardian, Sir Anthony Browne, brought him into especial favour with the young monarch, who not only made him a Knight of the Garter, but honoured him with knighthood in 1552, restoring to him by letters patent dated at Westminster, April 25th of the same year, all his forfeited estates in Ireland. In the time of Queen Mary, Cardinal Pole, returning to England, our knight was fully restored to his titles of Earl of Kildare and Baron Offaley; and, with almost an uninterrupted continuance of good fortune, the Earl of Kildare and his Countess Mabel lived for many years—a sufficient time to prove the rule true by being an exception to it—that “the course of true love never doth run smooth.” He died November 16th, 1585, and his wife died a widow, “a lady of great worth and virtue, at her fair house of Maynooth,” being the mother of three sons and two daughters, August 10th, 1610.

But it is now time to close this lengthy dissertation, over which, it is to be feared, the writer has already too long dwelt; and as the most telling incidents of a story are generally left to the last, it is to be hoped that the final one which this paper shall disclose, will be considered, if not

entirely true at least well founded, as the Italian adage of *Si non è vero è ben trovato*, hath it.

The circumstance about to be related bears out the curious reasoning upon which Sir Henry Spelman wrote in his *History of Sacrilege*, in the year 1632, viz., "that all those families who took or had church property presented to them, came either in their own persons or those of their ancestors to sorrow and misfortune;" and although in the pages of Spelman it is said some reference is made to the family of the Montagues, I have not been able to find it, after a diligent search through a copy published in 1698.

The circumstances I am about to narrate have been communicated to me by a friend who, from family tradition and documents, considers his connection with this line somewhat more than probable, and is thus described.

One of the many curious occurrences relating to this eminent knight of the "bluff Harry's" reign, was sent some years since to *Notes and Queries*, being communicated in a letter to the editor of that periodical by a clergyman of Easebourne (near to the famous Cowdray Castle, the principal seat of the Montagues). It stated that at the great festival given in the magnificent hall of the monks at Battle Abbey on Sir Anthony's taking possession of his sovereign's munificent gift, a venerable monk stalked up the hall to the dais, where the worthy knight sat, and in prophetic language denounced him and his posterity for the crime of usurping the possessions of the church, predicting their destruction by fire and water, which fate was eventually singularly fulfilled. The last viscount but one, just before the termination of the eighteenth century (1793) was drowned in an unsuccessful attempt to pass the Falls of Schaffhausen on the Rhine, accompanied by Mr. Sedley Burdett, the elder brother of the late distinguished Sir Francis. They had engaged an open boat to take them through the rapids, and had appointed six o'clock on the following morning to make their voyage, but the fact coming to the knowledge of the authorities, they took measures to prevent so very dangerous an enterprise. But with the invincible hardihood and determination of Englishmen they resolved to carry out their project regardless of all its dangers, and in this spirit they decided on starting two hours earlier than the time previously fixed, namely at four

o'clock in the morning instead of at six, the season of the year being early summer. They commenced their descent accordingly, and successfully passed the first or upper fall, but unhappily the same good fortune did not continue to attend them, as the boat was swamped and sunk in passing the lower fall, and was supposed to have been jammed in a cleft of the submerged rock, as neither boat nor adventurers ever again appeared. In the same week as that in which this calamity occurred, the ancient seat of the family, the magnificent Cowdray Castle, was destroyed by fire, and its venerable ruins still stand at Easebourne—the significant monument, at once of the fulfilment of the old monk's prophecy and of the extinction of the race of the great and powerful noble. The last inheritor of the title, the immediate successor and cousin of the rash and ill-fated young nobleman of Schaffhausen, Anthony Browne, the last viscount, who died at the opening of this century (1803), left no male issue, but his estates, so far as he could alienate them from the title, devolved on his only daughter, who intermarried with Mr. Stephen Poyntz, a great Buckinghamshire landholder and a most influential member of the legislature, who, from his local importance, was desirous of obtaining a grant of the dormant title, "Viscount Montague," in favour of the elder of his two sons, issue of this marriage, and as he was a very large contributor to the then "Loyalty Loan," and had a considerable voice in the legislature and the government through his family connexions, he was sanguine of success. His hopes, however, became most suddenly and painfully destroyed by the deaths of the two boys, his only male issue, who were drowned together while bathing at Bognor, in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of their respective ages; the fatal "water" thus becoming again the destructive element, in fulfilment, as it were, of the monk's terrible denunciation on the family in his fearful curse! As if, too, old Time had identified himself with the fate involving their doom, the most indefatigable efforts of those who have considered themselves collaterals have been frustrated in their attempts to draw evidence from the "shadowy past"; for although they have been most energetic "tomb-searchers," yet they have now nearly abandoned their efforts to lift successfully the "shroud that Time has cast" over the scattered records of their ill-

fated race. The obscurity of the present gradually darkens as years roll on, and the proofs which now "demonstrate thinly," decline to their extinction, and appear to be verifying the doom which the monk of old foreshadowed, for this once proud family of other days is rapidly becoming altogether lost in the mists of obscurity.

Thus has been told, albeit very imperfectly, the tale of the Montague family; a family that, I hope, I have been able to show once occupied the highest position in the land, and one whose honours are now only remembered in the ruins of the houses they once inhabited. From whatever cause, they have died almost out of mind, leaving it only for the wandering antiquary to cast a glance backward, to bring them once more for a moment, as it were, to light, and by the tower and the tomb to read to those who care to listen a few of the records of their former greatness, and in the melancholy yet truthful strains of the poet, to exclaim :—

“ Out upon Time ! who for ever will leave
But enough of the Past for the future to grieve.
Out upon Time ! who will leave no more
Of the things to come than the things before.
Two or three columns and many a stone,
Ivy and moss, with grass o’ergrown :
Remnants of things that have passed away,
Fragments of stone raised by creatures of clay !”

ON THE DISCOVERY OF CETACEAN REMAINS IN LONDON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE more the ground on which London stands is disturbed, the deeper it is probed, the more wonders are revealed, revolutionising old notions about men and things, and throwing unexpected light on the aspect and condition of the quarter occupied by our vast metropolis. The *débris* of the great fire of 1666, and the under-lying stratum of Roman remains, seemed for a lengthened period to be all that the antiquarian could hear of, care for, or obtain. No one ever thought of recovering a relic of the brave old Trinobantes, and as to the mementos of any more ancient people, no one ever dreamt that such could exist or ever existed in or about our venerable city. But brawny hands with pick and spade have broken up the sleep of ages, have laid bare the hidden witnesses of once busy life, and rent the veil which covered the works of not only the Trinobantes but of a nameless race who have held dominion in epochs far more remote than Trinobantian times. This ancient people, whoever they may have been, seem to have been well supplied with a few raw materials which they contrived to fashion into weapons for war and chace, implements of industry, and articles for personal use and domestic purposes.

Among these raw materials were the bones of great Cetaceans, and my desire is to bring this fact prominently forward, by recording a few well-attested instances of the recovery of the remains of such creatures in London, some exhibiting tool marks, others being in the natural condition.

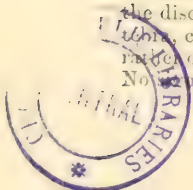
The late Mr. T. Bateman in his *Ten Years' Diggings* (pp. 230, 298), mentions the discovery of a portion of the common whale, *Balæna borealis*, in a barrow of the stone period, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which is good proof that at this early epoch the bones of Cetaceans were valued by the rude inhabitants of our island. I will commence the notice of the finds of such relics in London by referring to the small vertebra of a whale, recovered from the

north shore of the Thames in July 1847. It is about one inch and three-eighths in diameter. The epiphysial plates are lost, the centrum retaining on its sides the marks of the tool employed in cutting off the processes. It has been conjectured, and I think with a fair show of probability, that this vertebra was worn as a trinket or amulet about the person, the foramina presenting a ready means for suspension.

Within a year after the recovery of the foregoing pendant, namely, in March 1848, there was found close to the site of old London Bridge, the washer of a wheel, wrought out of a portion of the centrum of a large cetacean vertebra, and though broken in part, sufficient is still preserved to indicate that it was nearly five inches and a-half in diameter, and one inch and three-quarters in thickness. The perforation in the middle, through which the axle passed, measures three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and its small size and smooth surface leads to the inference that the axle was of metal. The head of the revolving linch-pin has worked deeply and broadly into the outer face of the washer, and its whole aspect speaks of rough usage. It must have formed part of some light kind of vehicle, such as the *essedā*, or war chariot, and it is a circumstance deserving mention that bronze weapons were met with in the immediate neighbourhood of this curious object, so that we seem compelled to assign it to the metallic age, and if it be so late, it is the latest instance of the employment of whale-bone in ancient British times that I can at present exhibit or refer to.¹

These are two examples out of many of the discoveries of the remains of the whale which have been made in the mud of the river. Let us now proceed a short distance inland, as far as Philpot Lane, where, in the year 1863 was exhumed the neural arch and accompanying processes of a vertebra of a *Balenoptera boops*, which is now in the collection of Mr. J. W. Baily. Judging from the size of this bone, the living creature of which it once formed a part, must have been of enormous length and bulk, no whit infe-

¹ Since writing the above, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew has called attention to the discovery in Smithfield, in April 1866, of an object wrought of whale vertebra, closely resembling the washer in question, but having the perforation farther out of the centre, which may account for its never having been employed. No signs of wear are visible. It is three inches thick.



rior in either respect to some of the modern "great finners," which at times attain a length of between ninety and one hundred feet.

On June 21st, 1866, and close to Philpot Lane, namely, on the site of No. 18, Fenchurch Street, there were dug up from a great depth, portions of the ribs of a very large whale, together with some bone pins or spikes. I had an opportunity of examining these several remains before the gravelly soil was removed from their surface, and I have no hesitation in affirming that their condition, when cleaned, indicated high antiquity, and I may add that some of the pins appeared to me to be wrought of whalebone.

Extending our search from this point to Moorfields, we have next to notice a discovery made in Long Alley in the spring of 1866. It is that of a slice, some eight inches long, of a stout rib of a whale, displaying saw marks at either end, a small fractured piece projecting from one of the faces where the tool had not completed the severance. The man who had possession of this bone asked me five shillings for it, as it was, he said, "*the greatest curiosity he had ever met with!*"

From this same locality on August 9th, Mr. E. S. Carlos obtained a good portion of the centrum of a large cetacean vertebra, which may have served as a seat in one of the ancient pile dwellings which clustered in this neighbourhood. Baldæus, in his *Description of Ceylon*, makes distinct mention of whales' vertebræ being used as stools "by many Indians."¹

In October, 1866, another portion of a gigantic cetacean, a scapula, was, with several bone spear-heads, exhumed from a very great depth at London Wall, and was there seen by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson. All I can learn of its subsequent history is, that "*it was sold to a young gentleman for a sovereign!*"

The latest discovery of a cetacean relic to be recorded is brought to our knowledge by Mr. J. Wimble, and was made ten feet below the roadway on the south side of Coleman Street, close to the yard of St. Stephen's Church. It is the epiphysial plate of the vertebra of a huge *Balanoptera boops*, measuring upwards of twelve inches in diameter, and its form and size are so suggestive of a charger, that we can

¹ See Dodsley's *Compendium of Voyages*, 1756, v. 86.

scarcely doubt that in some remote age it served for such a purpose. Its resemblance to the round shallow leather-covered basketwork dishes of the Ashantees is most striking, as may be seen by the example I exhibit.

We are well assured that in ancient times the concave epiphyses of bones were employed for domestic utensils. The three little scoops exhibited on January 24th, 1866, by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, will be fresh in the memory of our members, and two much larger examples of such articles formed of epiphysial plates of vertebræ have been met with in the Crannoge of Tonymore, between Crossdoney and Cavan, and are now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. In recent days the biconcave vertebra of the white shark have been placed on the table as salt cellars. These facts seem to support the idea that the noble specimen before you really served the purpose of a food dish, and was at once far handsomer and better adapted for such an end than the flat discs of slate found near the kitchen-middens of the stone period at Skara, in the Bay of Scales, Sandwich, and described in Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland* (p. 144).

Other instances of the exhumation of cetacean bones in London might be cited, but the few adduced are sufficient to establish the fact of the finding of such relics, not only in the bed of the Thames but in what is now the mainland of the city. But the question remains how did the early tribes get possession of the skeletons of whales, some of which must have been of immense dimensions, judging from the scapula, ribs, and vertebræ lately displayed. Were the osseous portions of the monsters of the deep brought hither by human aid, or did the living creatures sail up the channel and perish in the waters then filling the valley of the Thames? Startling as the latter proposition may appear to some, I greatly incline to entertain it as the most probable solution of our query.¹

We gather from the *Parentalia* that Sir Christopher Wren suspected that the whole space between the hills of Essex and Camberwell formed the basin of a great frith or arm of the sea, and if this suspicion be correct, whales of

¹ Sir Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology* (ed. 1850, p. 745), says: "It is not uncommon for the larger cetacea, which can float only in a considerable depth of water, to be carried during storms or high tides into estuaries, or upon low shores, where, upon the retiring of high water, they are stranded."

goodly size may have here enjoyed themselves to their hearts' content, and left their bones in attestation of their presence. Even to this day traces of oceanic influence may be detected close at hand. The *Zostera marina* still flourishes on the shores of Essex, Middlesex, and Kent, and in Surrey along the swampy borders of Battersea. Seaweed is frequently carried by the up tide past Woolwich towards London; and as near as Greenwich I have perceived the scent of the briny billows, and have been told that the water here is frequently brackish in taste. But more than this; within the memory of many now living, different species of cetacea have visited the shores of the metropolis, and as a tangible memento of a juvenile *Balaena mysticetus*, which paid its respects to cockney-land within the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and was captured close to old London Bridge, I lay before you three of the horny laminæ from its upper jaw, measuring eleven inches and a-half in length. But even this is far from the last time a cetacean has looked in upon us, for as late as November, 1866, a porpoise wended its way to London, and after a sojourn of more than a week, was finally dispatched a little to the westward of Waterloo Bridge.

But whether estuary or broad lake originally washed the high slopes of Essex and Surrey, certain it is that the process of aqueous subsidence has been going on for ages in those parts which are now included within the London district, but which once appeared as a group of islets, St. Paul's Churchyard being one of the first peaks to raise its head above the surface of the waters. As the dry land gradually increased in area, distinct meres must have been formed, but united to the deep mid-channel on the north by streams long known as the Wallbrook, Langbourn, Sherbourn, Old-bourn, the Fleet, and River of Wells; and on the south, among others, by the Effra¹ and Tigris, the first name being evidently the Keltic, *y-frawd*, "the torrent," the second a slight corruption of the words *tey-rhes*, "the clear,

¹ The Effra long maintained its character of a torrent; in certain seasons bursting its bounds, and carrying away bridges in its impetuosity. As for the Tigris, the late Mr. J. Simpson, who died at 43, Newington Place in 1865, told me he well remembered persons sending for the water of this river for culinary and drinking purposes, on account of its purity and brightness. In the year 1823 Mr. Simpson obtained one of the old oaken mooring-posts from the bank of this river, and had part of the wood turned into tobacco-stoppers.

or beautiful course." Dotted about were ferns and marshes, the recollection of which is preserved in such titles as Finsbury, Fenchurch Street, and Lambeth Marsh. In the several meres boat villages may have been located, just as we now find them located in the lakes of China, and as the waters decreased, more permanent dwellings were erected on stout piles, the unmistakeable remains of which have lately been laid bare both in Middlesex and Surrey.

If the smaller cetacea still find the present scant amount of water in the Thames sufficient to permit an occasional visit to the city, I think we may fairly presume that when the river flowed in fuller volume, their great ancestors did actually float nigh unto the abodes of the archaic tribes who here held domain, their bones furnishing the savages with materials for implements and household furniture, and they descend to us as a precious legacy from far remote ages—the silent, but most eloquent and unerring witnesses of the primæval condition of the region we now call London.¹

ON MASTER JOHN SCHORN.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A.

THE exhibition at one of our evening meetings of a pilgrim's shrine, upon which was represented the effigy of no less a person than Master John Schorn, preaching from a pulpit and accompanied by his memorable boot, appeared to the associates who were present to call for some more detailed notice than could be given at the moment to this curious object; and I was accordingly requested by the chairman and others to prepare a paper upon the subject. I willingly complied with the request, and in the following essay I have endeavoured to collect all the scattered notices that I could meet with of this once famous mediæval worthy. It will be seen that my aim has been not so much to offer any very original remarks, as to gather together and condense the widely dispersed materials for a brief sketch of

¹ It is curious to observe that some deduce London from the Keltic *Long din*, i.e., the ship-town. There can, however, be but little doubt that it is from *Lyn-din*, the lake-town. See *Journal*, xxii, 447.

one whose fame is said to have rendered a once small village flourishing and populous.

Our very diligent associate, Mr. Gunston, was so fortunate as to obtain the relic exhibited. It was discovered in that rich bed of similar antiquities, the Thames bank at Queenhithe. As a description of the little brooch has been already laid before the Society by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, I need only refer to his paper upon this subject, which will be printed in the next number of our *Journal*.

Two other signacula of Master Schorn are in the large and rich collection of Mr. Cecil Brent. The first, which is in form an irregular oval, one inch and four-tenths in its longer diameter by one inch and one tenth in its shorter, exhibits a full length figure of Master Schorn in gown and hood. On the sinister side is a long boot; its length is about equal to half the height of the figure, from which, half imprisoned, emerges the foul fiend. The whole is surrounded by a cable pattern. The second brooch, which measures six-tenths of an inch in height by nine-tenths in breadth, also represents Master Schorn; he stands in a pulpit, under a triangular canopy, and grasps with both hands a boot, which equals in length the height of the pulpit, and at the upper part of which the head of the captive spirit is to be seen. The preacher wears a gown and a closely-fitting cap. On the sinister side of the pulpit stands a flower vase.

It is not a little interesting to observe that whilst shrines and other more substantial memorials of Master Schorn have perished, these fragile signacula should remain, and after the lapse of centuries should recall attention to a person, who, however mythical may be the legends that surround him, was once famous throughout the kingdom.

In searching through the county histories I find that Dr. Lipscomb, *Buckinghamshire*, 4to., London, 1847, gives by far the fullest and most accurate account. Dominus Johannes de Schorne was rector, he informs us, of North Marston, in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1290. "Notwithstanding the fame of his sanctity and his numerous miracles, no account seems to have been preserved of his family, but he was probably a monk of Christchurch in Canterbury; and, in 1289, Rector of Monks' Risborough; perhaps a native of Shorne, in Kent" (vol. i. pp. 342-3). In Dr. Lipscomb's notice of the rectors of Monks' Risbo-

rough, he enumerates (vol. ii, p. 419) "John de Thorne, 8 Oct., 1289, subdeacon (called, in another place, Mr. John de Schorne)," who "had letters of institution and induction to the church of Risborough, from John, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Croydon, having been ordained on a title to this church." And in these few facts we have all that can be ascertained of our worthy's actual history. The legendary stories are, however, rich enough.

And first, these veritable histories relate that this marvellous rector, in a season of excessive drought, was moved by the prayers of his congregation to take active measures to supply their need. He struck his staff upon the earth, and forthwith there burst forth a perennial spring. If any are incredulous, the holy well remains there to this day. It soon became celebrated for healing virtues; "it is slightly chalybeate, and contains a large portion of calcareous earth," and "retains so much of its ancient fame, that even now it is occasionally resorted to for the relief of scorbutic and cutaneous diseases" (Lipscomb, i, 339). How far the curative influence of the water is due to its chemical properties, and how far to Master Schorn's sanctity, I must leave for the wise to determine. Suffice it to say, that many houses were erected to accommodate the crowds of sufferers who thronged to the well (as now-a-days invalids throng to Aix-la-Chapelle or to Baden), and that Browne-Willis records that "within the memory of aged persons then living, a post in a *quinque-viam* on Oving Hill, about a mile east of the well, had hands pointing to the several roads, one of them directing to Sir John Schorn's well" (Willis MS., Bodl. Lib., Oxon, quoted by Lipscomb, i, 339).

But the most marvellous part of the story, and that which connects this worthy with our pilgrims' signs, remains to be told. On some great occasion, and for some particular purpose (both occasion and purpose are unknown),

"Sir John Schorne
Gentleman borne,
Conjured the Devil into a boot."

"The representation of this extraordinary scene was set up in the east window of the church, and recorded on the wall which enclosed the holy well." A shrine was erected in his honour, to which pilgrims innumerable resorted. So large were the offerings of the devotees, that "in 1478, Richard

Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury and Dean of Windsor, obtained a licence from Pope Sixtus V that 'he might remove the shrine where he pleased'; and he accordingly did remove it to Lincoln Chapel, in the chapel of S. George, in Windsor Castle. The windows of the chancel long retained part of the history of the saint; and in one of them was his effigy with a boot under his arm, into which he was squeezing a little puppet in the likeness of Satan, as he is vulgarly portrayed" (Lipscomb, i, 339, 346).

I have only to add, before I turn from Dr. Lipscomb's interesting account, that traditional stories were long related in the village, in which it is said that Master Schorn's knees had become horny by his continual posture of devotion; and that the learned doctor was so fortunate as to discover, amongst the Lansdowne MSS. a copy of Master Schorn's will, in which he directs that his body shall be buried in the chancel of North Marston Church. The document is so curious, in form and expression, that, although Dr. Lipscomb prints it, I have transferred it to these pages; of course collating his transcript with the MS. I think that the version now offered will be found to be correct, *literatim et punctatim*. It differs in a few particulars from that printed in the *History of Buckinghamshire*.

It will naturally be expected that many references to this shrine would be found in the literature of the period of the Reformation. The series of volumes published by the Parker Society at once supplied me with two allusions to it, sufficiently curious to be laid before you.

Honest old Bishop Latimer, in his sermon on a Christian man's pilgrimage, commences his discourse in this wise (Bishop Latimer's *Sermons*, Parker Society edition, 8vo., Camb., 1844, Sermon xxvi, p. 474):—

"Dearly beloved in our Saviour Christ, I have to tell you at this present time of a certain pilgrimage, which may be called the Christian man's pilgrimage; but ye shall not think that I will speak of the Popish pilgrimage, which we were wont to use in times past, in running hither and thither to Master John Schorn, or to our Lady of Walsingham. No, no; I will not speak of such fooleries; but I will speak of such a pilgrimage which our Saviour Christ Himself taught us, being here present with us, by His own mouth. Therefore, whosoever will come to the eternal felicity must go that pilgrimage; else he shall never attain thereunto."

The editor of the Parker Society edition, Professor Corrie, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, adds a note to Sir John Schorn's name: "a saint whose head quarters are probably in the parish of Shorn and Marston near Gravesend, but who seems to have had shrines in other parts of the country." The learned professor then quotes Dr. London's letter, to which I shall refer presently; but I suspect that he has taken Marston in *Buckinghamshire* for Marston in *Kent*; though, of course he may have had other evidence of which I am ignorant. And, I am bound to say, in support of the accuracy of his statement, that in Murray's *Handbook for Kent* I have found the following passage:—

"Maister John Shorne seems to have had shrines at Shorne, one mile beyond Cobham Park, and at Marston near Gravesend. He had a chapel at Windsor; and is represented in the rood-screens at Cawston and Gateley, Norfolk. The church of North Marston, Bucks, is said to have been built with offerings at his shrine. Here also he had a well."

I find no reference, however, to Master Schorn, in Hasted's *Kent*, either at Marston or at Shorne. In Murray's *Handbook for Bucks* it is suggested that, "the village of Schorne, near Rochester, was probably called after him." If our worthy had any connexion with the place at all, I should think it more likely that he derived his name from the locality, than the locality from him.

Upon Bishop Latimer's expressions, I will only remark that, as he classes together, as it were, Mr. John Schorn and our Lady of Walsingham, and the latter was certainly one of the most famous pilgrimage shrines in England, the inference may fairly be drawn, that the pilgrimage to Master John Schorn was in nearly as great repute.

My next reference, though it does not mention Master Schorn's name, does mention the boot, his especial symbol; and I cannot but think that the interest of the quotation will make amends for its length. Thomas Becon¹ is the speaker:—

"Can God be worthily called upon in that place where so many mawmets stand, contrary to the commandment of God? Can God be worshipped there, in spirit and truth, where so many idols are seen, which have neither spirit nor truth? What garnishing of the church is this, to see a sort of puppets standing in every corner of the church?"

¹ Thomas Becon, *Catechism*, Parker Society edition, 8vo, Cam., 1844. p. 65.

Some holding in their hands a sword, some a sceptre, some a spit, some a butcher's knife, some a gridiron, some a pair of pinsons, some a spear, some an anchor of a ship, some a shoemaker's cutting-knife, some a shepherd's hook, some a cross, some a cup, *some a bowl*, some a book, some a key, some a lamb, some an ox, some a pig, some a dog, some a basket of flowers, some a crozier staff, some a triple cross, some an arrow, some an horn, some an hawk, etc. ; some bearded, some unbearded, some capped, some uncapped, some weeping, some laughing, some gilded, some painted, some housed, some unhoused, some rotten, some wormeaten, some coated, some cloaked, some gowned, some naked, some censured, some perfumed, some with holy water sprinkled, some with flowers and garlands garnished," etc.

Space will not allow me to annotate this passage ; but I will trespass upon the reader's patience so far as to add yet one quotation more, as, although its introduction is really a digression, it contains one or two symbols of saints which, I venture to think, are not quite familiar to archæologists. I am quoting from James Calhill's *Answer to John Marttall's Treatise of the Cross* (Parker Society edition, 8vo., Camb., 1846, *the sixth article*, p. 287).

"From the death of Christ till the time of Helena, no man or woman ever talked of it (the true cross). When she came, she found it, two hundred years after it was utterly consumed. I think that such idle chaplains, such morrow-mass priests as you, so slenderly furnished out of the storehouse of faith to feed the people, would be glad to deal more of your popish plenty, if this at the first were gently accepted. We should have extolled S. Leonard's bowl, S. Cornely's horn, S. George's colt, S. Anthony's pig, S. Francis's cowl, S. Parson's breech, with a thousand reliques of superstition as well as this. For miracles have been done by these (or else you lie), nor authority of men doth want to these."

There is yet another, and a very curious extract, that I have made from Bishop Bale's *Image of both Churches* (Parker Society, chap. xvii, p. 498).

"Here were much to be spoken of S. Germain's evil, S. Sikie's key, S. Uncomber's oats,¹ Master John Shorne's boot, S. Gertrude's rats. . . S. Fiacre for the ague, S. Apolline for the toothache, S. Gratian for lost thrift, S. Walstone for good harvest, S. Cornelis for the foul evil, and all other saints else almost."

Having obtained these references to Master Schorn, I

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. ii, p. 381.

turned to that marvellous repository of curious information, *Notes and Queries*, and there discovered a brief but very interesting paper by Mr. Thoms upon the subject of this worthy. Mr. Thoms had also noted the passages from Bishop Latimer and Bishop Bale; but I am indebted entirely to him for the five references next in order.

"1.—1506. An indenture for roofing S. George's Chapel at Windsor, dated 5th June, 21 Henry VII, printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii, p. 115, which speaks of 'Maister John Shorne's Chappell' there.

"2.—1563. *The Fantasie of Idolatry*, printed by Fox in his edition of 1563:

'To Maister John Shorne,
That blessed man borne (*sic*);
For the ague to him we apply:
Whiche juggleth with a bote,
I beschrewe his herte rote
That will trust him, and it be I.'

"3.—1569-1570. Mr. Payne Collier's *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*,—'R^d of Thomas Colwell for his lycense for the pryntinge of a ballett intituled

'Newes to Northumberland y^t skylles not where,
To Syr John Shorne a churche rebilt there. iiijd.'

"4.—Michael Wodde's *Dialogue*, quoted by Brand,—'If we were sycke of the pestylence, we ran to Sainte Rooke; if of the ague, to Saint Pernel or Master John Shorne.'

"5.—Dr. Maitland (*Remarks on Rev. S. R. Cattley's Defence of his Edition of Fox's Martyrology*, p. 46) quotes Robert Testwood's words ridiculing the relics that were to be carried in procession by various persons on a relic Sunday. S. George's dagger had been given to one Master Hake; and Testwood said,—'Sir, Master Hake hath S. George's dagger. Now if he had his horse, and S. Martin's cloak, and Master John Shorne's boots, with King Harry's spurs and hat, he might ride when he list.'

These five most curious and illustrative quotations do not form the whole of my debt to *Notes and Queries*; for I also obtained a reference to a paper which is in itself a very valuable contribution to the history of Master Schorn, viz., *Remarks on a figure represented on the rood loft screens of Gateley and Cawston Churches*, by the Rev. James Bulwer, printed in the *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. ii, pp. 280-290, 8vo., Norwich, 1849, and illustrated by two spirited outlines of the pictures at Cawston and Gateley. I have no intention of appropriating Mr. Bulwer's labours, or of diminish-

ing by too copious extracts the pleasure with which his paper must be read by those who desire to pursue this matter further. It will be sufficient for me to say, that both at Gateley and at Cawston (both in the county of Norfolk), there was found, painted upon the lower panels of the rood screens, an effigy of this worthy. In each case the figure stands erect, is vested in a gown, cap, and hood; has a nimbus round the head; and bears in the left hand a boot in which is still to be seen the imprisoned fiend. At Gateley, that there might be no doubt as to the person represented, the pedestal on which the figure stands bears the inscription, —

MAGISTER IOH'ES SCHORN.

Mr. Bulwer adds an interesting statement from Lysons's *Magna Britannia, Bucks*, vol. i, pt. iii, p. 604, that, on an average, the offerings at the shrine amounted to £500 a-year, "equal, at least, to £5,000 according to the present value of money." Mr. Bulwer adds another early reference to the Preface to Gerard Leigh's *Accedence of Armorie*, 1562. "'With much boste,' he sayde, 'he ware not the same [cote] since he came last from Sir John Schorn.'"

Before we dismiss the shrine from our recollection, I may add that "Joane Ingram, by will dated 11th Dec. 1519, bequeathed 'to Master John Shorny's light, a pound of wax'" (Lipscomb, i, 348, 9): and that there still remains over the vestry, attached to the north side of the chancel of North Marston Church, an upper chamber to which access is gained by a spiral staircase. In this chamber there is a fireplace, and an aperture opening into the chancel; it is thought that this room may have been the residence of the priest who watched the shrine (Lipscomb, i, 344, and Murray's *Handbook for Bucks*). Murray's *Handbook*, by the way, supplies another reference to the Reformation writers: "Foxe, in speaking of the punishment of Protestants in Bucks, says that 'some were compelled to make pilgrimages to Sir John Schorn;,' also, that some were forced by oath to detest the vicar of Wycombe, because, when he met 'certain coming from Sir J. Schorn, he said they were fools, and called it idolatrous'."

It will be observed that I have spoken more than once of "Sir" John Schorn; he is so called in Elias Ashmole's *List of Seizures and Surrenders and Losses of the Lands*

of the *College of Windsor*. The title is, of course, the well known designation of the parish priest; familiar to every student of monumental brasses, and to every reader of Shakespeare.

I will introduce only one more extract, quoted by Prof. Corrie, Mr. Thoms, and Mr. Bulwer: but which I have taken from the volume edited for the Camden Society by our learned Vice-President, Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A., etc., *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*. At the end of Letter No. cv, written by Dr. John Stockesley, Bishop of London, one of the commissioners for pulling down superstitious pictures, etc., to Cromwell, and dated Oxon., ultimo Augusti [1537], this sentence occurs:—

“At Merston Mr. Johan Schorn stondith blessing a bote, whereunto they do say he conveyed the devill. He is much sowzt for the agow. If it be your lordeschips pleasur, I schall sett that botyd ymage in a nother place, and so do with other in other parties wher lyke seking up.”

The original of this letter is preserved among the Cotton MSS. [Cleop. E. iv, fol. 269.] A few days later, on the 17th of September, Letter cix of this Collection, Dr. Stockesley writes (to Sir Richard Rich?):—

“And thys wek folowing I will send uppe Mr. Johan Schorn, and so as many as I fynde” (*sic*).—Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. iv, fol. 268.

The London forger's art has been busy even in the matter of Master John Schorn; and those who may not have been fortunate enough to see the original pilgrim's sign exhibited to the Association by Mr. Gunston, may perhaps still obtain, as I did a year ago, a tolerably well executed copy of it; taken, I have no doubt, from Mr. Gunston's example before he succeeded in securing it for his cabinet.

The boot is by no means a rare tavern sign. The recently published *History of Sign Boards*, 1866, p. 409, says, “The boot is a very common inn sign; either owing to the thirsty reputation of cobblers, or from the premises where it is found having been at one time occupied by shoemakers.” Surely, one may ask, may not the popularity of Master Schorn have had some connexion with the sign. In Charles Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*, chapter xlix, the Lord George Gordon rioters have, as their rendezvous, a tavern whose sign is “The Boot.”



Mr. Bulwer quotes a familiar passage from John Heywood's *Play of the Four P's*, in which the palmer, after enumerating many shrines and pilgrimage places which he has visited, mentions his devotions paid

“At Maister John Shorne in Canterbury.”

Where was this shrine? The question is not very easy to determine. I have endeavoured, in the first place, to ascertain what John Heywood actually says; but even this point cannot be settled without some trouble. There are in the British Museum two old editions of the play. The earliest, which unfortunately is not dated, reads thus: [I commence my extract at line 41.]

- 41 “At rydybone and at the blood of Hayles
Where pylgrymes paynes ryght muche auayles
At Saynt Dauys and at Saint Denys
At Saynt Mathew and Saynt Marke in Venis
45 At mayster Johan Shorne at Canterbury
The great god of Katewade at Kynge Henry
At Saynt Sauyours at our lady of Southwell
At Crome at Wylsdome and at Muswell
At Saynt Rycharde and at Saynt Roke
50 And at our lady that standeth in the oke.”

The text of this edition is wholly without punctuation: the numbering of the verses is introduced by me to facilitate reference. Now in nearly all these verses that I have cited, two places of pilgrimage are mentioned, and in v. 48 no less than three. Is it not, therefore, highly probable, that in v. 45, two places also are indicated—the one Master Schorn, his shrine at North Marston or at Windsor; the other the famous shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury? Long as is the list of pilgrimage places enumerated, the most important shrine of à Becket finds no place in it, unless it be here mentioned. I cannot consider it to be at all probable that the palmer would omit to mention this, the shrine to which Erasmus, in his *Colloquies*, gives so eminent a position.

But the matter does not end here. The British Museum furnishes us with another edition of this play, “Imprinted at London at the long shop adjoining unto S. Mildred's Church in the Pultrie, by John Alde, Anno Domini, 1569, Septembris 14,” some four years after Heywood's death. This copy is punctuated. The reading runs in some points

better, in some points worse than the earlier edition ; and verse 45 reads thus :—

“At Maister John Shorne in Canterbury :”

If the “*in* Canterbury” is to be taken as more correct than the earlier reading, then, of course, the task remains of discovering the *locus in quo* of the Canterbury shrine. But I am disposed to consider the earlier reading, as capable of bearing the interpretation above suggested, to be the better of the two.

If, as Mr. Bulwer suggests, Sir John was an Augustine monk in the convent at Dunstable, to which the living of North Marston belonged ; then it would not be very difficult to suggest an explanation. At Canterbury there were at least two Augustinian houses ; Gateley was also in the gift of a society of Austin canons : and one might fairly suppose that the good monks of S. Austin at Canterbury, anxious to rival the cathedral clergy who possessed the great treasure of the relics of S. Thomas, had set up a shrine to Master John Schorn, a worthy taken from their own muster roll. But if Dr. Lipscomb is correct in saying that Sir John “was probably a monk of Christchurch in Canterbury,” that is of the cathedral, then a Benedictine monastery, I fear that this suggestion must fall to the ground.

I have reserved for the conclusion of my paper, the announcement of the discovery of another painted effigy of John Schorn. The Rev. James Bulwer, in answer to a letter from me, asking if any further information upon the subject had fallen under his notice since the publication of his interesting essay, replies, with great courtesy, “I am not aware of any fresh information on the subject having turned up here, excepting another representation of him, with the boot, having been discovered last year in Suffield Church when under restoration—a church not far from this [Hunworth Rectory, Thetford] between Cromer and Aylsham ; so that we have three panel paintings of him extant in this country.” Acting upon this hint, I wrote to the Rev. James Smith, the Rector of Suffield, who most promptly replied to my inquiries, and was good enough to send for inspection the panel of the rood screen upon which Master Schorn’s figure is represented. The painting differs much from those at Gawston and at Gateley. The head is bare, the tonsure

very plainly exhibited; a golden nimbus surrounds the head. The figure is erect, and is vested in a close-fitting cassock, covered by a monastic gown; the latter fastened on the breast by a golden brooch or button. In the left hand he grasps, so firmly as to compress it, a long boot; at the upper part of which is seen the foul fiend, horned and winged, with bright red glaring eyes. Master Schorn's right hand is raised, the thumb and two fingers elevated. Mr. Bulwer has carefully discussed, in the case of the Cawston and Gateley figures, the significance of the position of the fingers of the saint (for so one ventures to style him, albeit no record of his canonisation has been discovered), I will therefore only refer to his paper on this point. But I ought to say, for the sake of strict accuracy, that whilst the first and second fingers, in the Suffield example, are drawn fully extended and of considerable length, the thumb is very short; still I think that the attitude is that commonly known as the attitude of benediction according to the Latin rite.

The height of the figure, including the nimbus, is about nineteen inches. The painting seems to have been executed in water colours, and then to have been covered with an oil varnish. The ground of the panel is red, the boot and the fiend are black, the cassock grey, the gown brown. The flesh tints seen upon the face, neck, head and hands, still retain some brightness, although the features have been much defaced—by accident, I think, rather than by design.

I have only to add, to the information here collected, a transcript of the Will of Master John Schorn, taken from the copy in the Lansdowne MSS. [No. 762, fo. 2.]

This Will is printed in Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, vol. i. The following transcript, however, is taken, not from the printed copy, but from the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, the handwriting of which is temp. Henry VIII.

"Copia testi v'ti Joh'is de Shorne.

"In dei Noīe amen. Anno a Nativitate eiusdīm mⁱ iiij^e xiiij^o nono die Maii, cum ego Joh'es de Sharne rector eccl'ie de Northemas-ton sanus mente & corpore & in bona prosperitate pariter et senectute de miseria & breuitate huius vite cogitans aīa aduertenda p dierū circulum & annor' reuelacōe Dicm mortis in munere quem nullus mortaliū poterit preterire. Vtile est michi fore existimaui

testando mortem puenire ne forte preoccupatus die mortis querendi spacium testandi non possum inuenire. Ex hoc igitur salubri premeditatione testando in hoc testamento meo sic dispono trifarie, ut reddā p^omo que sunt dei deo, que sunt terre solo terre, que sunt huius seculi bona ptem relinquam pro oratorib' in mundo, partem p manus pauperum differendam in celo, vt quot minus michi thesaurū in celo adhuc viuus expleam vel defunctus. In primis ergo om̄ipotentī deo animam meam quam creauit filioq' eius vnigenito qui eam redemit spū sancto qui me viuificauit et viuificabit b'te marie b'to mich'i archō et omniū angelorum et aliorum sanctorū ordinibus suspiciendam et contra spiritus nequicie defendendam atq' eor' oīm consorcio lego phenniter pfruendam corpus vero meū cū p exitū anime mee interiam fuerit resolutū in monumento meo ante maius Altare Eccleie mee predict' ex dum michi preparato Lego femorand' vt vbi non poteris sed marcenarii ges- sic sit officium. Ibi sit cibus vermiū explete sequidem de potissima pte. Vt puto et corpora restant de ceteris huius Seculi bonis disponere. AMEN."

AN ACCOUNT OF A DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN BUILDING AT CASTLEFIELD, TINKER'S HILL, ON ANDOVER DOWN FARM.

BY THE REV. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

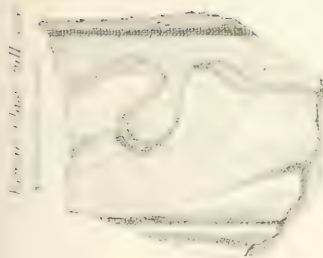
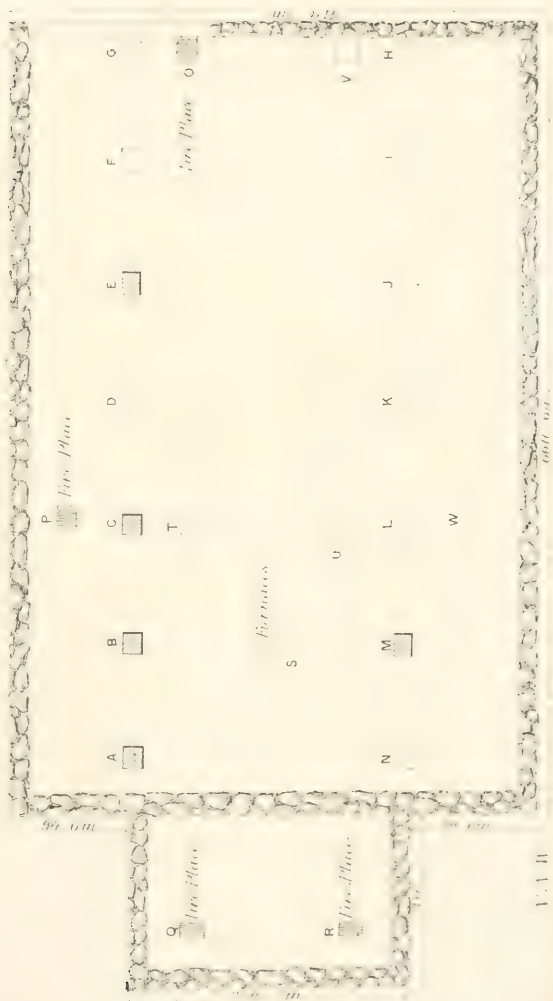
THE position of the Vindunum of the Iter of Antoninus is not yet so absolutely determined that additional light may not be thrown upon the site of this station by further investigations. Richard of Cirencester considered Egbury hill or camp to be Vindunum. Several antiquaries, as Camden, Stukeley, and Dr. Beck, place Vindunum at Silchester, Horsley at Farnham, and Reynolds at the Vine, near Basingstoke. Since their time it had been thought that the investigations of Sir R. Colt Hoare (before 1810) had well nigh settled the controversy in favour of Finkley Farm, but we find the Rev. Beale Poste,¹ so lately as at the meeting of the British Archæological Association at Newbury in 1859, in his description of Silchester, asserting that that city was the Vindunum of the Iter. Our distinguished associate, Mr. Thomas Wright, in the first edition of his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, writes that Vindunum is supposed to have stood at

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 90.

22 July

AT CASTLEFIELD TINKER'S HILL
VINDUNUM HANTS

Discovered May 20 by W. H. & C. Lechman Esq.



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Whitechurch, or at St. Mary Bourne. The Rev. T. C. Wilks, in his *History of Hampshire*, now being published, though inclining to place Vindunum at Finkley Farm, suggests some reasons for its being situated at Crondall. See note vol. iii, p. 199. It is obvious, therefore, that a further investigation of the site is requisite to test more accurately the suggestion of Sir R. Colt Hoare. This celebrated antiquary was led to conjecture that Finkley Farm was Vindunum, from the circumstance of its being about a mile and a-half from the intersection of the Portway and the Roman road from Winchester to Marlborough, where, from the Itinerary of Antoninus, he thought it likely a Roman station might be found, and, from the discovery of "a Roman tile and several pieces of pottery," his opinion being strengthened by the farmer's observation that, "when ploughing, the ground sounded hollow beneath the horses' feet." He, however, never proceeded with the investigation, and no subsequent discoveries have disclosed any foundations of buildings on that site. Sir R. Colt Hoare conjectured the site of Vindunum to be in Nettlefield on Finkley Farm, from the symptoms of Roman occupation before mentioned, but did not take the neighbouring *Tinker's Hill* into consideration. Now, a much larger number of fragments of pottery and other Roman vestiges have been picked up on Tinker's Hill, situated at two fields distance from Nettlefield, southward from Sir R. Colt Hoare's supposed site of Vindunum, and divided from it by the Oxdrove or old London road from Andover. To Castlefield, therefore, a field of eleven acres and a-half on the eastern slope of Tinker's Hill, our associate, Mr. Charles Lockhart and myself, directed our especial attention, which issued in the discovery of the site of a Roman building, the particulars of which are now offered to the attention of members of our Association.

As one reason for regarding Tinker's Hill as the site of the true Vindunum, though I by no means call in question the high probability of Roman foundations, where Sir R. Colt Hoare supposed them, at Nettlefield, on Finkley Farm, I may be allowed to point to the etymology and derivation of the name *Vindunum*. Vindunum is a compound of "*vin*" and "*dunum*"; "*vin*" is derived from "*venta*", which comes from the Celtic "*guent*" signifying white, referring, as I conceive, to the colour of the chalk of which the hill

consists. The termination “dunum” is from the Celtic “dun”, a hill, and well describes the commanding eminence of Tinker’s Hill. Vindunum, therefore, literally means the “white hill.” A similar derivation of “vin” from “venta” is seen in the *Venta* Belgarum (Winchester), *Venta* Icenorum (Caster), and *Venta* Silurum (Caerwent), which were Roman camps, all situated on the guent (chalk). The very prefix of “Vin” in Vindunum remains in the “Vin” or “Win” of Winchester, “the *Venta* Belgarum,” which literally means “the camp on the chalk.” In like manner, the application of the latter syllable, *dunum*, in Vindunum, to a hill, is seen in the neighbouring Roman station of Old Sarum. *Sorbiodunum*, which in the Celtic language means literally a “dry hill”, from a Celtic word *sorbio*, “dry”, and *dunum*, “hill.” Old Sarum is a high hill, still remarkably deficient in water. Tinker’s Hill, on the southern slope of which Castlefield is situated, has, at the present time, the flag-staff of the Ordnance Survey planted on it, and commands the most extensive prospect in that vicinity. On the west, beyond Andover, is Quarly Hill; on the north, Finkley Farm and Doles; on the north-east, Beacon Hill, White Hill, and close at hand, Apsley Clump. From Tinker’s Hill the Devil’s Dyke runs northward across Oxdrove Road to Pepper Hill, now covered with a copse of fir trees, through which the dyke’s course is very apparent. The Basingstoke and Salisbury Railway crosses the dyke ere it enters this copse. The dyke crosses the Portway (now the highway between Andover and St. Mary Bourne) at Trinley Bottom. It then winds through Trinley Bottom to Hackwood Copse, to Frenches through the midst of ancient British habitations, and from Frenches pursues its course to Doles. From Doles the dyke continues over Hurstwood Tarrant Common, through Ragwood into a lane, where it cannot be distinctly traced, but Mr. Charles Lockhart thinks that it joined another ancient dyke which runs from Chute Common through Tangleby to Pillheath, thence through a copse called Ball’s Wood, and across the fields to Wilster Wood: then to Netherton Hanging, on through Faccombe Wood, and is known by many as the *Wansdyke*. Tracing the Devil’s Dyke southerly from Tinker’s Hill, it runs up Tinker’s Hill, and is lost at the top southward till it reaches Wherwell Wood (about two miles), where it enters that wood just below

where the Roman road comes out from Winchester. Close inside Wherwell Wood the Romans turned the dyke into use, their road running in the middle with a ditch on each side.

At the south side of Castlefield, near the spot on which local tradition had represented a castle to have stood, and which had therefore particularly attracted Mr. Charles Lockhart's attention as deserving investigation, that gentleman and myself, by means of an iron probing rod tipped with steel, constructed for such exploration, soon lighted on vestiges of a Roman building. With six workmen we carefully traced the foundations, and found the length to be 66 ft. 6 ins., the breadth 41 ft. 2 ins., the largest side having a southerly aspect. A portico or large room had been in the centre of its west side, 22 ft. 2 ins. long, and 14 ft. broad. The walls of the north, east, and south sides of the building were two feet broad, being less broad than the wall of an ordinary Roman villa. The walls of the west side and portico were three feet, with a set off of six inches on each side. They were all composed of flint stones, with the smooth faces outside, just as the masons now build, and were imbedded in excellent mortar. The remaining foundations were as perfect as if laid only the day before.

The foundation wall on the eastern part of the building was not entire, as the less depth of the soil in that part of the field had exposed the foundations more to the action of the plough. The western portion of the walls was often more than a foot beneath the surface, but the eastern was sometimes within a few inches of it, and was partially broken up. The building had corner stones at the west end, of considerable magnitude, judging from the size of one that remained and the vacuum left by those which had been carried away. Before the relics of the south wall of the house we found rubbish laid along the foundation as builders now deposit it, to "keep the ground hollow" (as they describe it), and thus prevent pressure against the wall, and the wall from sinking either way, whilst the rubbish also acts as a kind of drain. Among this rubbish not a few fragments of the best pottery, and some coins were found. The roof of the building had been supported by fourteen pillars placed at regular intervals, seven in a row, opposite each other. They commenced on the western end six inches from the

wall of the building, in a line with the walls of the portico. The remaining stone bases of the pillars averaged about fourteen inches in length and thirteen in breadth, and were nine inches in the ground. The top of the stone bases was marked with two lines crossing at right angles.

These bases were very firmly secured, being surrounded by a large number of flints embedded in mortar. In many cases, as will appear by the plan of the site, these bases, especially where the soil had been less deep, had been removed, as, no doubt, coming in the way of the plough, and being useful for building: but there was no difficulty in tracing exactly the position of all the bases, from the quantity of flint stones and mortar on their sites, precisely similar to that found on the sites where the bases remained. I asked Mr. Joseph Turner, the occupier of the farm, by whose kind permission the exploration was granted, whether there were any similar stone bases of pillars about his farmhouse; and he immediately shewed me one of exactly the same size and structure, placed at the corner of his house, by the road side, for a horse-block: and to similar purposes, no doubt, the massive stone bases had been applied. One of these bases, some roof-tiles, and a sample of minor relics, are deposited in the Andover Museum. The larger number of articles found in the *débris* of the building, is in my own possession.

On trenching the ground, on the entire removal of the building, it was found that the chalk just below the foundation of these stones was not the natural soil of the hill, but had been brought there to lay the foundation on. At some depth the solid chalk is there found: then comes a layer of clay soil, and upon this clay the builders had put a layer of small stones, then fine chalk, and upon this they erected the building. The men found this layer of chalk where the lower outer and side wall of the building had once stood, and the stones had been torn up by the plough. A large number of roofing-stones, with the nails by which they were fastened often adhering to them, were found scattered about the building. Mr. Turner said that for many years past three or four cartloads of these stones and flints had been taken from the field.

The floor, with the exception of the portico, shewed no appearance of divisions for rooms, but was pitched over

with flint stones well mortared in. There was no tessellated pavement, and not even a single tessera was known to have been found in the field. The mode of warming the building was not by hypocausts: but by fireplaces, of which four were discovered. Of these four fireplaces, sufficient relics remained to form a pretty complete idea of their construction, which appears to have been very similar in all. Our associate, Mr. Joseph Stevens, excellently succeeded in removing the fireplace marked s in the plan, entire, by covering it as it lay with plaster of Paris. It is now in the Andover Museum. This hearthstone, of which a drawing has been made by him (see plate 2, fig. 7), was 2 feet long by 16 inches broad; and, when found, was black on the upper side, in the hollow where the fire had been. Ashes were in a corner of the fireplace. The stone was made of ochreous brick-clay, baked before it was laid down: and may be described as a flat kiln-baked tile of ordinary clay, embedded in a mass of clay when the hearth was built. The clay in which it was embedded was 10 inches deep, and was of the same description. It was brought, Mr. Stevens thinks, from the stiff clay bed situated about half a mile distant, by the side of the turnpike, which is now used for a kiln for making bricks. That the hearthstone was distinct from the clay, may be inferred from the fact of its separation, as a distinct layer, from the subjacent clay, as well as from its maintaining uniformity of thickness throughout the entire plate. It may be concluded that there never was a properly built shaft or chimney, as some remnants of the foundation of it must have remained beside the hearthstone. Certainly what would have destroyed the basement of the chimney, would have broken up and destroyed so brittle a thing as a clay hearthstone, especially as the stone must have been considerably above the level of the chimney base. In what way the heat was communicated to the building from these hearthstones, whether from simply deposited fuel, or from an iron stove, or brazier, or vessel containing charcoal, placed on them, I do not venture to say: but I may repeat, there were no remains of chimneys observable in the fireplaces of the building.

A second fireplace (marked p), which had a large quantity of burnt ashes around it, was destroyed before attention was given particularly to its form.

A third fireplace (q) was made of brick laid in red clay. It was in the portico, or front room, a foot deep below the surface, and just below the top level of foundation. The brick formation of this fireplace was a foot and a half thick. The top clay bed on which it lay was also an inch and a half in thickness.

A fourth fireplace (marked r) was in the other corner of this small room, and in position answered to q. It was surrounded, like the other fireplaces, with a large quantity of red brick earth, and was set in dark red clay. It was made of ridge-tiles laid on their backs, and slightly sloping inwards; that is, higher on the outsides. It was square-shaped, about 17 inches long, and 13 wide.

These were all the fireplaces observed; but judging from the extreme regularity with which the building was constructed, it may be considered probable that there were at least two more, answering to G and P, on the east and south of the building, where, from the extreme thinness of the soil above the foundations, the surface was, as I said, exposed to constant disturbance. v, to the north of the base H, and w, to the north of the base c, would represent these fireplaces.

As another means of warming the building, as well as for culinary and other purposes, there were three furnaces toward the centre of the western part of the building. The first of these furnaces discovered was at the spot marked s. It was a round hole, 5 feet deep, and the sides perpendicular to the bottom. This hole was about 32 inches across both ways. The bottom was paved all over with stones laid in red clay. The upper sides of the stones were coloured, from the effects of fire. This hole had a quantity of red brick earth round the top, a foot wide. The sides were very hard calcined chalk. At the bottom of this hole the jug-top was found, of which a drawing is given, plate 2, fig. 5.

The furnace marked t was less distinct. The hole had been filled up with red brick-earth rubbish. It was about 12 feet from the north wall, and 21 feet from the west wall of the portico.

The third furnace, u, is remarkable. It was a round hole like s. It was thought to resemble a potter's kiln by Moses Waterman, a skilled labourer, who had been very useful throughout the investigations. It was 21 feet 6 inches from

the west wall of the portico to the centre of this hole, and 14 feet 6 inches from the south side-wall. The end of the passage was, however, one foot farther. This place consisted of a round (furnace) hole with sloping passage down to it. The floor of passage and floor of hole were both hard, calcined chalk. The walls of this hole were composed of calcined chalk and red brick-earth mixed, and like rock-work for hardness. Moses Waterman said that he had tried all round the top, and that there was not any passage he was quite sure.

Round the top of the hole, *v*, the clay was burnt into red brick-earth; and at the bottom of this hole were bits of wood and pieces of burnt bone, fragments of pots, but no paving stones. Mr. Charles Lockhart, to whom I am indebted for this description of the furnace, paid especial attention to it, and noted the following particulars. The mouth of the passage at level was 1 foot 4 inches deep, and 2 ft. wide; passage, 1 ft. down, was 1 ft. wide; 2 ft. down, was 1 ft. 2 ins. wide; 4 ft. down, was 1 ft. 8 ins. wide; 5 ft. down, was 1 ft. 5 ins. wide; bottom of passage, outside mouth of hole, was 3 ft. deep and 1 ft. 6 ins. wide; depth of walls to round hole, 1 ft. 4 ins. The hole itself, from surface, was 3 ft. 3 ins. deep, and 1 ft. 9 ins. across; mouth of hole, 13 ins. wide; back of hole to mouth of hole, 2 ft. 6 ins.; passage and hole, 10 ft. long. Passage about 7 ft. long; at level, 16 ins. deep; and at mouth of hole, 3 ft. 3 ins. deep. During the clearing off of the stones and flints of the building, this furnace-hole remained without alteration. It was *filled in*, but not picked to pieces.

The articles in the *débris* of the Roman building or on the immediately surrounding surface of the field, were of considerable interest. About twenty fragments of Samian ware were found. One fragment has on it the not unfrequent termination of a potter's name, "NVSF", and another ends in "ISMA." Fragments of forty or fifty varying forms of rims, bottoms, and sides of vessels of pottery were found, resembling those discovered at the Romano-British pottery of Crockle, in the New Forest. Among this pottery were the well-known forms of vessels having the side indented by the thumb, one of which was very similar in pattern to the vessel from that pottery, figured No. 10, at page 96, vol. xxxv of the *Archæologia*, with an extra ornament of a

semicircle on the thumb mark. Mr. J. D. Smith has made a drawing of it, plate 1, fig. 2, and of various other objects referred to.

The upper part of a handsome jug of substantial pottery is represented in plate 1, fig. 5. It has a peculiar elevation of the sides of its mouth, well adapted to prevent spilling the water when first poured, by confining it to a channel. Many roofing tiles were found of several sizes. One measured 19 ins. long by $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, another 17 ins. long by $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, a third 14 ins. long by 11 broad, a fourth 14 ins. long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ broad; it was remarked that they appeared to be of Dorsetshire stone. There were two fragments of querns, the larger one eighteen inches in diameter, the other somewhat less. Fragments of glass, chiefly of a greenish hue, were found, but no window glass. One piece found on Tinker's Hill has the acanthus pattern on it (plate 1, fig. 1). Some pieces of the glass resembled that discovered at the ancient glass factory of Brige.¹

Of metal objects, the following are figured in plate 2:—Fig. 1 is a buckle or *fibula*. The part which attached it to the dress is broken away; it represents the portico of a house. 2. The bronze handle of a clasp knife, representing a greyhound in pursuit of a hare, with a ring attached to it, is similar to one figured in Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 343, but in far better condition. 3. The upper portion of a bronze box, shaped in the form of a human figure; the back is now lost, the hinge still remaining. The three last articles were found on the surface of the field, and belong to the Rev. S. Lockhart, Vicar of St. Mary Bourne, to whose courtesy and advice we were much indebted throughout the investigations. 4. A bronze signet seal. It is peculiar in the construction of the back portion, which is twisted in the form of small hooks; the glass or stone of the signet is lost. 6. A key of unusual form, in good preservation; the drawing represents the key entire, also a side view of the ward. A lead weight, 5 lbs. $11\frac{3}{4}$ ozs. (avoirdupois), 4 ins. long $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in circumference at its widest point; an iron arrow-head; an iron bridle-bit of a strong make, found near one of the fireplaces where the coins of Carausius and Allectus were also picked up; and various rusted iron articles, consisting chiefly of blades of knives, rings, and nails. A fibula was found on Tinker's

¹ British Archaeological Association *Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 55.



Pinna tell. s. s.



Pinna tell. s. s.



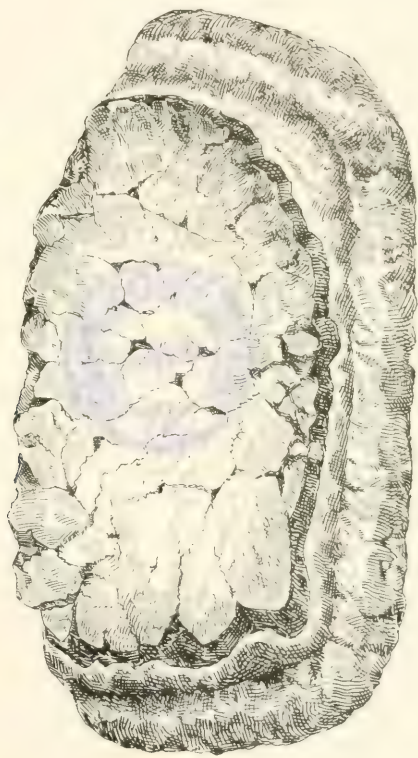
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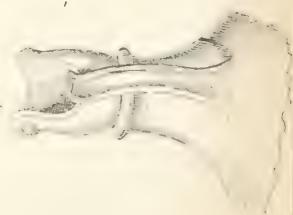
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Pinna tell. s. s.



Pinna tell. s. s.





Hill, June 17th, 1863. The bones of the ox, sheep, hare, and horse were also found. Oyster and mussel shells were met with in abundance; of the former there was not only the *Ostrea edulis*, but the large oyster of a coarse species used for making sauces, shewing that these masters of the world, in their far-off sojourn, were not indifferent to gastronomy.

No large amount of coins was found. They were chiefly of third brass, and are as follows:—

Imp. Maximinus, P. F. AUG: filleted head. *Rev.*, GENIO. POP. ROM. P. L. N.

Imp. C. Victorinus.

Four coins of the Tetrici. *Rev.* of one, SPES. Claudius Gothicus, crowned head. *Rev.*, PROVIDENTIA. Carausius, P. F. AUG: crowned head. *Rev.*, PROVIDENT. AUG. *Ex.* c. (probably Clausentum).

Imp. Allectus, P. F. AUG: crowned head. *Rev.*, galley with five oars, VIRTUS. AUG. *Ex.* Q. L^r

Diocletian.

Imp. Constantius, P. F. AUG: *Rev.*, FELIX. TEMP. REPARATIO.

Imp. Constantius, P. F. AUG: filleted head. *Rev.*, Soldier over another on his knees. FELIX REPARATIO.

Maxentius, half coin of, filleted head. *Rev.*, legs of soldier. FELIX. . . . *Ex.*, P. L. C.

Licinius, third brass, in good preservation.

Imp. Licinius, P. F. AUG: (found on Tinker's Hill). *Rev.*, GENIO. POP. ROM. a genius with patera and cornucopia. *Ex.*, P. T. R.

Imp. Constantinus, P. F. AUG: *Rev.*, GENIO. POP. ROM. In the field, S. A. *Ex.*, P. T. R. Very perfect.

D. N. Valens, P. F. AUG.: filleted head. *Rev.*, URBS. ROMA. Rome standing helmeted, Victory on her right hand on a globe crowning her, the hasta in her left. *Ex.*, T. R. P. S.

Seven other Roman coins, illegible; three minimi.

Mr. Samuel Shaw of Andover has in his possession from Andover Down Farm, on which the Roman building is situated,—

Second brass (Follis) reading IMP. CONSTANTIVS. PIVS. F.AVG. Head laureated. *Rev.*, GENIO. POPVLI ROMANI. Genius standing with cornucopia and patera. No letters in *exergue*.

Third brass of Crispus; CRISPVS. NOBIL. C. Bust helmeted. *Rev.*, BEATA. TRANQVILLITAS. Altar inscribed,

NOTIS. XX. *Ex.*, P. LON. (London), in the field two letters, found in the brickyard just beyond the farmhouse at Andover Down, the other side of the turnpike road.

The following coins were obtained by him from Finkley Farm :—

Minim of Arcadius ; DN. ARCADIVS. AVG. Bust. *Rev.*, SALVS. . . . soldier dragging a captive. *Ex.*, A. Q. P.

Third brass of Allectus ; IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P.F.AVG. Bust. *Rev.* indistinct, apparently VIRTVS. AVG. Galley. *Ex.*, Q. L.

Third brass of Decentius ; DN. DECENTIVS. NOB. CAES. Head bare. *Rev.*, *Chi rho* with *alpha* and *omega*, the first word indistinct, but apparently PROVIDENT. AVGG. ET. CAESS. *Ex.*, SIS. LC.

Denarius in lead ; DIVVS. ANTONINVS. Head. *Rev.*, CON-SECRATIO. Funeral pile.

There is in the Andover Museum a small vase found at Finkley.

In this account of the discovery of a Roman *building* by Mr. Charles Lockhart and myself, I have abstained from calling it a Roman *villa*, as it is destitute of some of the usual accompaniments of a villa, and has some special characteristics of its own. If Vindunum is considered, as it may be by some antiquaries, one of the mansiones or mutationes which were established between two Castra stativa, or principal Roman stations (which in this case would probably be considered to be Calleva and Sorbiodunum), it would be a place of rest on the road for change of horses, etc., and would necessarily be provided with the accommodations of an inn. Such a building as this might have been expected to be found at Vindunum. But whether Vindunum was one of these mansiones or not, we are inclined to believe the building to have been an inn. It belongs to a description of Roman buildings in this country, of which we have little record, and of which I only know of two in any way resembling it. The edifice to which it bears most resemblance is that figured in the *British Archaeological Association Journal*, vol. iv, p. 365, as an appendage to a Roman villa at Ickleton, Essex, from which villa it was distant about eighty feet. The general similarity of the two buildings will appear by a comparison of the respective plans of their foundations. There are in each case the bases left at regular intervals of fourteen

pillars, in two lines of seven in a line, which had supported the roofs, thus dividing each edifice into a sort of nave with side aisles. Both buildings were forty-one feet broad, the Ickleton building being fifteen feet longer. They had each a porch or large room on the narrower side, and were without hypocausts; the walls also were not of the uniform width of three feet, customary in villas, but were of two as well as of three feet width. The account given of the Ickleton building is too brief to pursue the comparison farther, but the two edifices were apparently of a similar type. The writer of the account of the Ickleton building, Mr. Neville, considers that it was not a Roman villa, and conjectures that it may have been a public building of some kind, such as a temple or basilica. The circumstances of the case seem to point out the recent discovery to have been also a public building; and that that building was a house of entertainment for travellers—a *diversorium* or inn—seems at least a probable conjecture. The eminent antiquary, Mr. C. Roach Smith, compared a Roman edifice found at Hartlip, Kent, and not of the villa type, to the above building at Ickleton.¹ On reference to the plans, it will be found that this building at Vindunum is yet more like the edifice at Ickleton.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, in vol. iv, p. 2, of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, also describes a building at Thessée, a village in France, on the high road to Bourges from Tours to Mont-richard, that seems to have had a similar object of public accommodation for travellers. Mr. C. R. Smith's observations on these *mansiones* will well repay perusal; and should this building at Vindunum be considered by antiquaries to be an inn, it may, perhaps, be regarded as the third, if not the *first*, inn discovered in this country. There is great reason to believe that, as so many Roman relics have turned up in the neighbourhood of Tinker's Hill, other remains of Roman buildings may hereafter be discovered. The vicinity of this site, indeed, *teems* with Roman relics as well as large numbers of ancient British habitations and vestiges. Sir R. Colt Hoare, in his inquiry into the Roman station of Vindunum, asks whether ancient British habitations are to be found in this neighbourhood. Ancient British habitations are met with in great numbers at Frenches, New Farm,

¹ Vol. ii, p. 9, *Collectanea Antiqua*.

Dole's Wood, etc. The vestiges of the ancient British population are also numerous. Charred flints, known by the name of "pot-boilers," abound. Flint implements, consisting of celts, lance and arrow-heads, sling-stones, skin-scrapers, saws, hammers, hatchets, knives, wedges, drills, chisels, cores, and flakes, have been found on many parts on the surface in this neighbourhood, and especially at St. Mary Bourne, by the Rev. S. Lockhart and our associate, Mr. Charles Lockhart, suggesting much valuable information as to the state of civilisation and habits of the Celtic inhabitants.¹

The relics of *Roman* occupation are not less widely diffused throughout the vicinity of Vindunum. If any credit is to be given to the statements of Richard of Cirencester, Vindunum was one of the twelve stipendiary towns, *i.e.*, towns allowed the convenience of paying in money instead of produce. It was, therefore, a place of some consideration, and would have, at one period, no small population, which it has been supposed declined when the neighbouring station of Silchester became of so much importance. The Roman road, the Portway, runs through Egbury, St. Mary Bourne, Middle Wick, and Finkley Farm, called by the workpeople in this neighbourhood "Old Andover." Of this route there is an account in the eighth volume of the *Archæologia*, and especially of Egbury Camp. Egbury Camp was originally square, but its north and east side have been partly destroyed for agricultural purposes.

There are three places marked by the name of Wick, *viz.*, Upper, Lower, and Middle Wick, obviously Roman in their etymology, from *vicus*, a street. At Middlewick Mr. C. Lockhart discovered, in a field called "Durley's Ground," two large pieces of Roman brick and some pieces of ancient pottery; and at Newbarn Down the ground for an acre is covered with broken pieces of Roman stone, roof-tiles, fragments of ancient pottery, etc. He also has met with Roman relics at Hurstborne Priors, Warwick, Binley, Upper Wick, Cowlease, Greybury Copse, and in Hurstbourne Tarrant, at Searchfield and Soundingfield. Finally, fragments of pottery by thousands, and other relics, have been found by him for an extent of two miles and a quarter, from Lower Link

¹ Our associate, Joseph Stevens, Esq., has lately published an interesting descriptive list of flint implements found at St. Mary Bourne; 1867, London, Tennant, 149, Strand.

to Stoke, leading to the supposition that that site may have been the burial-place of the ancient population of Vindunum.

In closing the account of the discovery of this Roman building at Vindunum, I regret to say that no vestige of its foundations now remains. In little more than a fortnight from the commencement of the excavation, the labourers thoroughly trenched the whole surface of the ground investigated. The cart of the inexorable agriculturist carried off more than twenty loads of the stones and flints of which the building had been composed, and the plough as remorselessly passed over its site. Thus perish, in the absence of any enlightened governmental regulations and *surveillance*, one after another, the precious relics of our country's history; and thus, little by little, the rising population is despoiled of one of the surest and most agreeable methods of gaining a knowledge of the past, and stimulating the love of future historical research.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 22, 1867.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

George Edward Adams, Esq., *Rouge Dragon*, College of Arms.

Mrs. Le Feuvre, 2, Rockstone-terrace, Carlton-crescent, Southampton.

It was also announced that thanks had been returned for the following presents :

To the Society. Cambrian Archæological Society for Archæologia Cambrensis. No. L. 3rd Series.

,, ,, Society of Antiquaries, Journal of. 31 March, 1867.

Notice was given that the Council had taken steps to have the books and other property placed in the house, so as to make them available for the members ; and that a sub-curator had been appointed.

Mr. Gunston exhibited two Lancastrian badges of pewter, found in London, 1866 : one being the white hart "lodged," the cognizance of Richard II (respecting which some valuable observations by Mr. Planché are given in this *Journal*, xx, 293) ; the other, the ostrich feather, described in this *Journal*, vi, 390.

It may be well to take this opportunity to record the discovery at Brook Wharf, Queenhithe, of the remains of a collar of SS, the brass letters being of small size, and fixed to a narrow strip of leather. Portions of this rare object are in the collections of Mr. Baily and the Rev. W. S. Simpson. Some notes on the collar of SS will be seen in this *Journal*, xiii, 331.

In a conversation that ensued relative to St. Thomas of Canterbury and the removal of St. Thomas's Hospital, Mr. Pycroft remarked that the late Hospital was built on the site of the birthplace of St. Thomas.

Rev. S. M. Mayhew stated, in reference to Master John Schorn (whose name arose in a former discussion, and upon whom a paper by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson appears *ante*, pp. 256-268), that he had looked into the subject, and some information would be found in the second volume of the *Norfolk Archæological Journal*.

Mr. J. W. Bailey, F.S.A., exhibited two specimens of Roman bronzes found in London during the present year.

Mr. Cuming read the following observations on the

“CHARM OF THE MEASURE OF THE WOUND.”

The charm of *the measure of the wound* in the side of our Blessed Lord, to which the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson drew attention at our meeting held April 25th, is of such an extraordinary character that I trust I may be pardoned for reviving the subject.

There are two features in this curious amulet which must at once arrest notice from their great novelty, namely, the *perpendicular* position of the wound, and the *form* of its apparent incloser. I will venture to affirm that in nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand representations of the *martyred* Saviour, the incision in the side is found taking the direction of the ribs, *i. e.*, in a nearly *horizontal* line, whereas in the charm the spear-stab is placed *perpendicularly*. At this moment I can cite but two instances of the wound being so disposed on the person. The earliest is in a painting in distemper on wood, 11 ins. by 8 ins., in the *Museum Christianum* at the Vatican, and engraved by D'Agincourt in his *History of Art* (iii, 92). It represents Christ as a gardener appearing to Mary Magdalene, who, kneeling in pious adoration, touches the left foot of the Redeemer, in whose right side a large *perpendicular fusi-formed* gash is eminently and painfully conspicuous.

D'Agincourt states that this picture was executed in Italy, in the Greek style, during the twelfth or thirteenth century, but in my opinion it cannot be assigned to an earlier epoch than the fifteenth century, the freedom of drawing and the character of scenery and details all combine to lead to this conclusion. The second instance of the *perpendicular* direction of the stab which I can exhibit, is in a little ivory image of St. Francis d'Assisi, of sixteenth century work, where, among the other *stigmata*, is the *fusi-formed* wound in the side. Though this figure is not that of the Saviour, it is the Saviour's wounds, be it remembered, that are shown about the person.

The charm in the French *Book of Hours* brings to my recollection a strange religious drawing which I saw years since, with some score of others of similar character, at a shop in Hemming's Row, St. Martin's Lane. The drawing of which I speak was of a *fusil*, inclosing a *vesica-shaped* object, covered with sealing-wax varnish, and having a line or two of writing underneath. The person who had these religious drawings for sale refused to divide the collection, but one at last got disconnected from the rest and was purchased by my father, with a lot of miscellaneous scraps, about twenty years back, of a man named Shephard. It displays a bloody heart pierced downwards with a dagger, and subscribed, “*The Christian combatant has sometimes to resist*”

unto blood." This, like all the others of this mystic assembly, is rudely executed on coarse cartridge-paper, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins., and I mention this example with a view of giving some idea of the style in which the charm was got up. I now say *charm*, but I am free to confess that when I saw the drawing I took it for a lozenge-shaped shield, charged with an *ancient* fusil, *gules*; and I will state why I so thought it. In Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (edit. 1724, p. 368), the author, after describing the well-known form of the fusil, goes on to inform us,—“But all this is to be understood of fusils of the modern figure or form; for anciently they were thus—(here follows an outline like the vesica-shaped wound); and it is added, that Mackenzie considered the fusil to represent a spindle.” From this it is clear, so far as heraldry goes, that there are two distinct figures which bear the same denomination, and considered to represent the self-same device, whatever that may be.

Now, in the charm in the *Book of Hours*, and in the rude drawing I have described, these two forms are given together; are they, therefore, identical in religious art, as they are in heraldry? Surely the Greco-Italian painting given by D'Agincourt, and the little effigy of St. Francis, offer strong reasons for believing them to be one and the same. If this opinion be correct, and I see no grounds for questioning its correctness, may not the fusi-formed religious medalets really be intended as representations of the sacred wound, just as the cordi-formed medalets represent the sacred heart of Jesus, or of his holy mother, Mary. I place before you an Italian fusi-formed medalet of brass, bearing on one side the nimbed profile bust of the Apostle Peter, with the letters s. p. A. in the *exergue*; and on the other side, the nimbed profile bust of Charles Borromeo, with the letters s. c. B. below. As this Cardinal Archbishop was not canonised till 1610, this little bauble cannot be older than the seventeenth century, and its aspect would scarcely indicate an age over two hundred years. Whether the form of this medalet be sufficient to constitute it a charm of “*the measure of the wound*,” the fact remains as indisputable as ever, that the *perpendicular* direction of the *spear-stub*, and the *fusil contour*, are inseparable in the few examples which have yet met observation.

The discovery of the charm in the *Book of Hours* is indeed an important one, so far as religious art is concerned, and will doubtlessly lead to many unexpected results, among others, perchance, of showing the true origin of the mysterious *Vesica Piscis*, about which so much has been written, but respecting which so little is really known.¹

¹ Some have considered the *vesica piscis* to be the outline of the fish; but among the fourteenth century encaustic tiles at Great Malvern it appears as an aureole to the fish. See *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1844, p. 494.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, F.S.A., also made the following observations on the same subject :

"Finding that the subject of the wound in the Saviour's side has excited more interest than I expected, I am emboldened to add one or two details which I did not venture to produce at our previous meeting. In a curious and, I believe, very rare little book preserved in our Cathedral Library at St. Paul's, '*Hoc beatissime virginis Mariæ ad usum Sarisburie'sis ecclesiæ accuratissime impresso, cui multis orationibus pulcherrimis et indulgentiis iam olimo receder inseritis*,' printed by Thielman Kerver circa 1509, there are the following rubric and collect on fo. O. ij. :

"¶ Our holy father pope Innocentius the ij. hath granted to all thē that say thys prayer deuotely ī the worship of the wonde that our lorde had in hys blessed syde whā he was deed hāgyngē in the crosse. iiij. thousande days of pardon'.

"Orō. Ave vuln' lateris nostri saluatoris. Ex quo fluxit flui' fonsq' cruoris. Medicina miser' esto nūc doloris. Sana simul criminis plagam et erroris. Ave plaga lateris larga et fecūda. Laua multitudinis sordes & emūda. Ne ledat servos tuos mors secūda. Sed in visu numinis fiat mēs jocunda.'

"Here, then, we have a special form of devotion to be addressed to this wound, and a promise of four thousand days of pardon to those who use it. A little before this prayer, in the same volume, fo. n. j., we find the following very singular rubric, in which the total number of wounds received by the body of the Divine Redeemer is stated to have been 5,865 :

"¶ Our holy fater sixt^s the iiij. graunted to all thē that be in the estate of grace sayenge thys prayer folowing ymmedeatly after the eleuacyō of the body of our lorde elene remission of all ther synnes p'petually enduryng. And also jolm the iiij. pope of rome at the req'ste of the q'ne of Englonde hathe gra'nted unto all them that deuotely say thys prayer before the image of our lorde crucifyed as many days of pardon as there where wondes in the body of our lorde ī the tyme of hys bytter passyō the wyche were .v. thousād . iiij. hondredth ij. scour. and .v. Pr' nr' Ave. Precor te amantissime d'ne iesu xp'e,' etc.

"The devotion paid to the wounds of our Lord, and the indulgences granted to those who used the prescribed forms, excited the wrath of the Reformers. Thus Thomas Rogers *On the XXXIX Articles* (Parker Society's edition, Art. XXII, p. 220), gives 'a further manifestation of the vanity and impieties of the Romish pardons, from a book of the Papists entitled *Hoc beatissime Virginis Mariæ secundum Usu et Seruā* : 'Innocentius Papa Secundus concessit cuilibet, qui hanc orationem sequentem devote dixerit, quatuor millia annorum indulgentiarum, Ave, vulnus lateris nostri Salvatoris,' etc. And the editor subjoins in a

note an English version of these Latin words, taken from an edition of the *Sermon Hours*, printed at Paris, folio, 1535, fo. lxxvj. b.

"The five wounds are, as every one knows, very commonly represented amongst religious symbols; but it may not be uninteresting to mention that the five wounds were worn as a badge in the so-called 'Pilgrimage of Grace.' I am induced to add two further extracts taken from the *Zurich Letters* published by the Parker Society. The first is from a letter sent by Bishop Grindal to Henry Bullinger, 18 February, 1570, vol. i, Letter LXXXVII:

"At the beginning of November two earls, namely those of Northumberland and Westmoreland, collected troops and raised a rebellion in the counties of York and Durham, for the purpose of restoring the Catholic religion, falsely so called The rebel army had on their colours the five wounds as they are called, and the representation of a cross with this inscription, '*In hoc signo vinces.*'

"Appended to Letter LXXXVI, in the same volume of *Zurich Letters*, is the following note from Camden's *Elizabeth* (p. 134), referring to the same rebellion: 'From thence they went small journeys, celebrating Mass in all places where they came, tramping together under their colours, wherein were painted, in some the five wounds of Christ, in others the chalice.'

"Archbishop Sandys, *The Seceuth Sermon* (Parker Soc. edit., p. 130), adds another item to our store of knowledge: 'In a paper which of late came from the Pope as a token to his dear children, there were printed the five wounds of Christ with this posy,—*Fili, da mihi cor tuum, et sufficit.*' (Son, give me thy heart, and it sufficeth.)

"And earnest old Latimer, in his *Sermon at the Time of the Insurrection in the North, called the Pilgrimage of Grace*, printed in 1535, speaks out after his vigorous fashion: 'In like manner these men in the north country, they make pretence as though they were armed in God's armour, gird in truth, and clothed in righteousness. I hear say they wear the cross and the wounds before and behind.' Professor Corrie, in his edition of Bishop Latimer's *Sermons*, for the Parker Society, adds as a note to this passage: 'Every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of his party, an emblem with the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle.' (Carte, *Gen. Hist. of England*, vol. iii, p. 140.)

"Pilgrims' signs, or leaden brooches, bearing representations of the five wounds, have been recovered from the bed of the Thames. I produce an example, of the fourteenth century, found near the Steelyard in 1865."

Mr. Cato said that he had examined all the known works on the subject of the wound for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were any shown to be of a lozenge shape; he considered that the

lozenge shape merely shows an opening in the drapery and not the wound itself, which is never vertical, but mostly diagonal, though sometimes horizontal.

The following letter from the Rev. J. Bowles, D.D., Vicar of Stanton Laey, Salop, to Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., giving a short account of the church of Stanton Laey, Salop, was then read by that gentleman.

“My church is dedicated to St. Peter, and is one of the most ancient in the diocese. It may be presumed to have been erected in some part of the short reigns of the Confessor, Canute, or Ethelred; a portion of the walls being undoubtedly Saxon, with the long and short work. In the *Domesday Survey* it is returned as one of the twenty churches then standing in Shropshire, and called ‘Stanton, belonging to Roger de Laey.’ The structure has preserved many of its original features, although it has suffered much from barbarous alterations. The Saxon remains are valuable as indicating a cruciform church of that date, and consist of a door on the north side of the nave, and pilaster strips on the west end and north side of the nave, and on the east and west sides of the north transept. There is a piscina in the chancel wall, south of the altar, of which I have made a rough sketch. Both the chancel and piscina are I think of the fourteenth century. There is another piscina in the south transept, of which I have also made a sketch. Outside the chancel on the south side, and on the west of the priest’s door, are two sepulchral recesses. They are both alike, and inclosed is a sketch of one of them. There are no brasses in the church. The font is of the Tudor period. When I became vicar in 1847, I found the church littered down with straw, covering the bare earth where the poor had seats. The vicar, Sir William Boughton, and some of the farmers had large high dormitories. I have repaired and partially restored the church at a cost of upwards of £1000, but much more still requires to be done.”

Mr. Cuming remarked, that though Dr. Bowles’s letter was sent as a private communication, it touched upon so many points of interest that he felt justified in laying it before the meeting in anticipation of the forthcoming Ludlow Congress; for the more the question of the existence or non-existence of Saxon architecture is agitated, the more facts would be elicited, and the better able should we be to come to some definite and well grounded conclusion on the subject. For his part he could not believe that the Norman conquerors swept from the land every atom of Teutonic masonry. And when we find the foundations and lower portions of walls of one kind of construction, and the upper portions of different kind—as at the church of Woodstone, near Peterborough, and the tower of Clopham Church, Bedfordshire, where the more recent portions are undoubtedly of the Norman era, it is a fair inference that the lower portion are of an older and Saxon origin. The

late Mr. Rickman enumerated Stanton Lacy, with Barrow and Stratton, as three Shropshire churches in which Saxon workmanship is clearly traceable, and perhaps a more rigid examination of other churches in the county might add to their number. Dr. Bowles, with much caution, assigns the chancel and piscina of St. Peter's to no higher date than the fourteenth century, but some more daring archaeologists might not hesitate in attributing them to the thirteenth century; and indeed the cope-topped fenestella in the south transept will scarcely admit of being placed at a later epoch than the early part of the Early English Period. The fact of a portion of the floor of the church being unpaved is most remarkable, and suggests the query—was the earth ever covered with wood or tiles which have been removed at a subsequent time, or has the church in this respect remained in the same condition in which it was left by its Saxon builders?

Mr. J. W. Bailey exhibited some spurs found recently at Brooke's Wharf, and an inscribed purse-beam.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a dole-bag of an abbot, inscribed with part of the creed; also a stone celt, found May, 1867, in an excavation at Brooks Wharf, Thames Street. It measures six inches and two-tenths by one inch and three-tenths, is formed of a dark olive-green stone, and strongly resembles some Irish examples. There is no reason, however, to doubt that the celt was actually found in the locality assigned to it above.

Mr. J. W. Grover produced several drawings of discoveries recently made at Silchester. He had visited it about a month since, and considered that the excavations were not of sufficient depth. Window glass had been found, and red-ware pottery without potter's marks. Many ordinary roofing tiles were found with marks of fire on them. The coins found were nearly all of the fourth century. Mr. Grover read a letter from Mr. Lysons, stating that the paving referred to in his paper on "Pre-Augustine Christianity," bore Christian emblems. (see *ante*, pp. 222, 224.)

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, read the following extract from a letter received by him from Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, on the subject of Mr. Hills's paper "On the Cathedral and Monastery of St. Cuthbert at Durham (see *Journal* for 1866, pp. 197-237), and dated Durham, 23rd April, 1867:—"Carter's drawings of the cathedral, made at the end of the last century, show very distinctly certain gable like lines in the upper part of the south aisle of nave, and Billings also shows them. These existed till some few years ago, and the Rev. Geo. Ormsby (whom you know to be an accurate observer of such things), always looked on them as the remains of gables. I am also informed by a member of the chapter, that Mr. Salvin, when restoring that part of the cathedral, felt so sure of the fact, that he wished to restore the

gabled arrangement. However, as this is only hearsay, I may state as the result of my own observations on the north side, that I find distinct marks of diagonal lines in the masonry, both outside and in."

JUNE 12.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

Joseph Stephens, Esq., of St. Mary Bourne, Andover.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester, Farnham Castle.

It was also announced that thanks had been returned for the following presents :

To the Authors, Messrs. Charles Henman, jun., and J. Taverner Perry, for *Antiquities of Durham*; fol.

To the Author. Nouveau Recueil de pierres sigillaires d'oculistes Romains, par le Docteur J. Sichel; 8vo., Paris, 1866.

To the Society. Royal Archaeological Institute Journal. No. 91. 8vo.
 „ „ Canadian Journal. No. 63. 8vo.

It was agreed that a further Part of the *Collectanea Archaeologica* should be published as soon as possible.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming announced that, since the reading of his paper, "On the Discovery of Cetacean Remains in London," on April 10th, a highly important "find" of such relics had taken place in the Isle of Dogs, where, in excavating for a new dock, and about twelve feet below the surface of the ground, a number of gigantic bones of the whale had been exhumed; and which, to the minds of those who had examined them, are an additional proof that in ancient times the ocean must have reached the valley of the Thames.

Mrs. H. Green of Dudley Villa, Brixton, sent for exhibition a spear or harpoon-blade, of light coloured hornstone, two inches and five-eighths high, by one inch and seven-eighths at its greatest width. The edges are rather blunt, and the nearly flat surfaces are rudely and broadly chipped over; and the weapon has every character of very remote antiquity. It was found at Salisbury.

Lord Boston, V.P., transmitted for exhibition a German *misericorde* of the time of Henry VIII, which his Lordship purchased at the sale of the collection of the celebrated Baron Denon. The blade of this fine weapon measures ten inches and five-eighths in length, and has two deep channels on either side, each being slit and perforated for the purpose of holding viscid poison; and it bears the mark of the maker, a bunch of grapes, the stalk dividing the letters G. C. The hilt is of iron, the top of the pommel and faces of the knobs of the cross-guard

being wrought with a voided cross. The sheath is also of iron; and it, as well as the grip, is bound with wire checkered with silver.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that in the Meyrick collection is a *poison-needle* of the same age as the foregoing, the triangular blade of which is pierced for poison: and also a smaller example, of the time of Elizabeth, with its serrated blade thickly set with holes for the reception of some venomous compound. But the employment of toxiferous daggers is not alone an European fashion of the sixteenth century, but one which has long existed in Western Africa; in proof of which Mr. Cuming produced a dagger from Ashantee, with the blade having a mid-channel on each side, with six round perforations to contain the poison.

Lord Boston further contributed a carving, in buck's horn, of marvellous excellence, representing a bust, wherein the brown surface of the horn is most judiciously made to form a portion of the beard. A plaited ruff encircles the neck; and the lapels of the coat are buttoned back so as to expose a medallion hanging on the breast, which bears a profile with features similar to those of the larger portraiture. The head is covered with a broad brimmed hat with a bow of ribbons in front; and resting on the crown is the figure of a cat with its fore-paws on a fish. This bust is believed to represent one of the Counts of Katzenellenbogen, the cat being their badge. The execution of this masterly performance is much in the manner of Simon Troger of Nuremberg, who flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century. This bust was purchased by his Lordship in Antwerp.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a cane-top of buck's horn, carved with three grotesque human heads with glass eyes; one of the faces being on the crown, another on the occiput of the principal personage, whose nose is lengthened into a dog's head, with some object in its open jaws. This is a German work of the early part of last century, admirably wrought, and displaying a continuation of that quaint humour so rife among the artists of Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who delighted to place faces and separate features on different parts of the head and body of the chief figure in many of their grotesque designs: an idea, however, which may be traced back to the Gnostics, as may be seen by turning to our *Journal* (vol. viii, 1).

Mr. J. Edmonds exhibited an oval cameo, one inch and three-sixteenths high, most delicately wrought in white shell, backed with black slate, so as to have the aspect of a calcedony of two strata. The subject is taken from the beautiful group in the Borghese collection, where Venus, just emerged from the sea, extends her left arm, and spreads her drapery, whilst tenderly looking down on Cupid, who strides a dolphin riding on the waves. (See Perrier's *Statues*, 1638, pl. 84.) The cameo is Italian work, of apparently the early part of

last century; its archetype having been a production of the school, if not of the hand, of Praxiteles.

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded paper impresses of the Roman flue tiles in the Cirencester Museum, bearing the letters *IN S*, which were evidently incised or stamped over the scorings on the surface of the tiles before firing. Mr. Irvine states that at the Chisworth Villa, near Cirencester, some tiles have been discovered exhibiting the conjoined *Chi* and *Rho*, as in the Frampton pavement. Mr. Irvine also contributed drawings of Roman architectural remains found at Cirencester. One fragment now in the local museum is the upper portion of some object which was designed to be viewed all round, and the abacus of which measures about twelve inches by six inches, and rests at either end on a column much like the small one found in Mincing Lane, and engraved in this *Journal*, vol. vi, 442. In front is a stouter column, the shaft of which is scutated in a style which brings to mind the example exhumed in Tower Hill, and given in this *Journal*, vol. viii, 240. On the back is a plain flat tablet which may have been intended to receive an inscription.

Another of Mr. Irvine's drawings represents a fragment of the capital of a pillar elegantly carved with acanthus leaves; and the base of a column, found together in a wall of Roman date in which they had been used as building materials. They were met with in excavating the cellars of some new cottages not very far from the spot where the first described curious stone was discovered. It is noteworthy that this base has been hollowed inside for the purpose of reducing its weight, as is the case with the larger columns in the temple at Bath. Mr. Irvine reports that there has been discovered in the chancel of Trinity Church a large Roman base with part of the shaft of a column, out of which the base and part of the shaft of an early English or early Decorated column has been cut. Mr. G. G. Scott, who is restoring the church, has had the stone work of the south wall cut away, so that these interesting remains will be always visible. Mr. Irvine also calls attention to the unrecorded fact, that in the garden of Highland Cottage, near Chesterton Villas, beyond the bridge over the railway, there remain the base and capital of a Roman column, the relics of a Roman house discovered there when the cottage was built.

Mr. J. T. Irvine further transmitted sketches of sculptured stones still remaining in the neighbourhood of Bath. One is a tall narrow Norman capital, which, with another bearing the entombment, and some five or more small foliated capitals, are built in and about the mill at Bath Easton. It represents the flagellation of our Lord, but the subject is treated in a very peculiar manner. The Saviour is perfectly nude, and instead of being bound to a pillar, his hands are tied together with a thick rope, curiously knotted, and held by a soldier. The

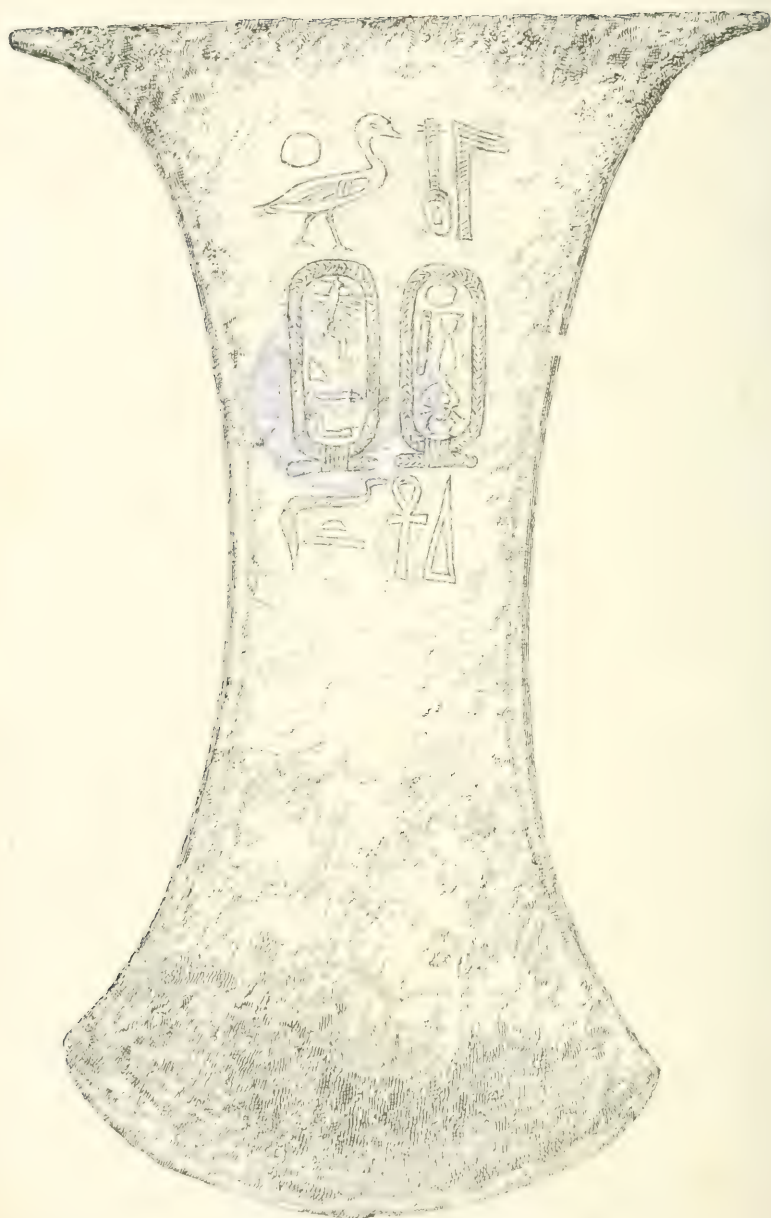
executioner wields a ponderous *flagellum*, or rather *flagrum*, for the three lashes seem to have knobs of metal at their ends, like the Roman and Turkish scourges. The three figures have their hair arranged in heavy cornute locks, and the soldiers wear short close-fitting rocs or tunics, with sleeves widening from the shoulder to the wrist. Between our Lord and the executioner rises a truly classic fleuron.

Mr. Irvine's second sketch represents an effigy of an ecclesiastic standing within an arched recess, one foot six inches deep, on the exterior eastern wall of the chancel of Bath Hampton Church. Mr. Irvine expressed his belief that the figure once lay horizontal over a tomb in the churchyard, and that when the eastern wall was rebuilt during the Early English Period, it was placed in the niche as now seen. There are remains of the red paint with which the background and part of the dress are coloured, not later than the Early English period. The effigy holds a book in the left hand, and with the right gives the benediction, his arm at the same time supporting the pastoral staff. The figure seems to be habited in a chasuble, with a hood rising up in a point behind the head, the front of the mantle falling in a sharp point a little below the waist, and beneath it is seen a long dalmatic, and underneath this again appears the alb. There are indications of a square-ended stole like that worn by St. Augustine in the missal bearing his name, which was produced during the lifetime of Abbot Elfnoth, who died in 980; indeed, everything about this Bath effigy points to a very early period.

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. E. Roberts, Mr. Blashill, Dr. Giles, and Mr. T. Wright took part, resulting in a general expression of doubt in the letters being Roman, and a belief that they were later. Mr. T. Wright questioned whether flue tiles were ever burned.

Mr. J. Savery exhibited a glass bottle just exhumed, and accompanied it with the following observations by Mr. James Buckman:—"The glass bottle is one of five found at Thornford, Dorset, two of which hold over a quart, and three are of about the capacity of a pint. They were found in digging a piece of ground for potatoes about a foot from the surface of the soil in the corner of an old pasture field, lying, as my informant said, 'all of a row, bottom to bottom and neck to neck.' From the specimen sent, these bottles will be seen to be composed of very coarse glass, and they are thick and heavy. The impressed stamp on the side is the same size in all the examples, both the larger and smaller sizes; at the same time, these five bottles have not all been impressed with the same die, for although the same crest is used in all, yet the bottle now sent is different from the others, and I should say that the die used on the bottle I send you is an older one, and that the other bottles are stamped with a copy of it. Now it will be a curious inquiry for you to make out the use of these bottles,





and to whom the crest belonged. The bottles probably were made to contain *sherry sack* or *Burgundy*, or rather, perhaps, were used as decanters now are to serve up these and other wines or spirits. Should they be shown to be the prototypes of decanters, it will make them highly interesting, as our knowledge of the domestic utensils of so early a period as the beginning of the seventeenth century (the probable date of these bottles), is very limited. The crest of the falcon, with the baronet's coronet, can doubtless be made out, and this may connect the bottles with some family in Dorset. How they came in the position in which they were found is highly curious, but most difficult to conjecture, and I have no doubt that this and the other points mooted will form interesting subjects of inquiry to you and your brother antiquaries."

Mr. C. H. Waters exhibited, through Mr. E. Roberts, a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, by Zuccherò. It is full size, quarter length, at about the prime of life, with a jewelled head dress and embroidered veil, the hair golden and in short curls over the forehead. The ruff is of stiff lace, beneath which depends the order of the George, over a chemisette of lace, jewelled and otherwise ornamented. The dress has a brown body and golden coloured sleeves, the square bordered opening for the neck being embroidered with gold on a black ground. It belonged to our former associate Mr. Palmer, who resided in Cromwell's house at Great Yarmouth, and who received the Association at the Norwich Congress. It is similar in kind to the Mary Queen of Scots, in the National Portrait Gallery.

An Egyptian war-axe in bronze, of which the engraving shows the actual size, was exhibited by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, and the following observations were read by the exhibitor:—

The bronze war-axe which I now exhibit is, I have good reason to believe, a very remarkable and in all probability unique example. I had the good fortune to find it, a few days since, at the shop of Mr. Lincoln, the well known coin dealer, in Oxford Street. I am not able to give any account of its previous history; Mr. Lincoln only knowing that he purchased it with other matters at a recent sale at Sotheby's. When I first obtained the axe, it was covered on both its surfaces with a rich patination; the greater part of this patination is now removed. Upon careful examination I observed some very indistinct traces of an inscription, almost obscured by the green and reddish patina, and on removing a paper label which Mr. Lincoln had pasted upon the hatchet, I found the figure of a bird. My curiosity being thus stimulated, I resolved to clean a portion of the surface, but before taking this extreme step, I asked counsel of Mr. Birch of the British Museum, who at once, with the greatest kindness, undertook to examine the hatchet and to report upon it; and he stated that the traces then visible led

him to suspect that the inscription was Egyptian, and that it would be found to contain a king's name. Acting upon his advice, I sanctioned (though really with much regret) the removal of part of the patination, in order to ascertain distinctly what was the nature of the incised inscription. Mr. Ready, Mr. Birch's assistant, undertook the necessary manipulation, and by the application of a weak solution of hydrochloric acid (one part acid to fifteen parts of water) laid bare in a day or two the inscribed surface. The result has been most satisfactory. I cannot do better than state it in Mr. Birch's own words, as I have his kind permission to lay the note before the Association.

“British Museum, June 6th, 1867.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Soon after you left, Mr. Ready succeeded in cleaning the bronze axe head, and has brought the name of the monarch quite out. It consists of a name and prenom, both new and unknown in the series of Egyptian monarchs. They read,—

“‘NETER NEFR RA UAT KHEPR SU RA PA-HEK-AA TA ANKH GETA.’

“‘The good God. The Sun, supplier of existences. The Son or the Sun, Pahekaa endowed with eternal life.’

“Now from the peculiar expression of the name *Pa-hek-aa*, ‘the great ruler or king’, in which the word *hek* or ‘ruler’ is appropriate, and often used for foreign kings, such as the *hyk shos* or shepherds, and others, it appears to me that the name belongs to one of two periods; either the *hykshos* or shepherd kings of the sixteenth or seventeenth dynasty, or else the Persians; and in this case it would be an exact translation of,—

‘O ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ,’

so often applied by the kings of Persia to themselves. As the name does not correspond with any known one of the shepherds, it appears to me most probable that it is one of the Persian kings of the twenty-seventh dynasty, but which I do not know. Such a title would be applicable to any of the line. What still further induces me to regard it as Persian, is the fact of these monarchs often using after their names the expression *pera p. au.* ‘the great monarch’, very similar to that under consideration. The work, too, appears to have some peculiarities which show foreign influence, and resembles the early work of Memphis, or the revival of the same under the twenty-sixth and following dynasties. It has, however, one peculiarity and difficulty; that there is a prenom as well as a name, and no Persian monarch assumed the same except Darius, and that the prenom is not that of Darius.

“I remain, yours very truly,

“S. BIRCH.”

In a second note Mr. Birch adds, "The axe-head is well worthy of a woodcut, as it is a very interesting object."

I may briefly describe the object as a bronze axe, six inches and two-tenths in length, three inches and one-tenth in width at the cutting edge, narrowing to one inch and six-tenths in the middle, and widening to four inches and one-tenth at the opposite extremity, where it would have been attached to the handle. The inscription occurs on both sides. One may fairly suppose that this most interesting relic may have belonged to the monarch whose name it bears.

An Egyptian axe, secured to its handle by thongs, now in the British Museum, is figured in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, sub voc. AXE. It bears the representation, cut quite through the metal, of a man on horseback. This specimen belonged to D'Athanasii. See also Smith's *Dict.*, sub voc. EGYPT, vol. i, p. 504, where is figured a procession of troops of the eighteenth dynasty, many of whom are armed with axes bound by thongs to the handles; this plate is taken from Sir Gardner Wilkinson. I believe that no other example of an axe bearing an inscription is yet known to Egyptologists.

I may add, though I cannot assert (and do not suspect) any other connexion between the objects than their casual association in a sale catalogue, that the lot in which this axe was sold comprised also an Egyptian bronze mirror; and two bronze implements, of which there are examples in the National collection, supposed to have been tools used in smoothing stucco.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., exhibited a marble head, by some supposed to be of Alexander the Great, dug up in a garden at Alexandria. It was a complete statue of gigantic size; but the head had been broken off, and unfortunately was the only part which had come into his possession.

Mr. Cuming said that it could not be Alexander, and he had little doubt that it was a representation of the Emperor Verus, and of unusually excellent sculpture for the period.

Dr. Giles agreed with Mr. Cuming that it might be Verus or Antoninus, but preferred thinking it the former.

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., thought that the statue had not been completed; it certainly was not Alexander, and was by a Greek artist.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills laid before the Society the following communication from Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., dated 22nd May, 1867:—

"I was engaged, in conjunction with our associate Mr. Charles Lockhart of St. Mary Bourne, the week before last, in an endeavour to discover a Roman villa at Castlefield, on which, from the number of relics of Roman pottery continually upturned by the plough, there was some reason to suppose that such a building might have existed. This field is very near the site Sir Colt Hoare placed the Roman station

Vindanum, from similar relics he observed in a neighbouring field. By means of a long iron probe which I took with me, we were on the first day successful in lighting on a Roman villa, not of the first class, but of very considerable archaeological interest. It was 66 ft. 6 ins. long, and 41 ft. broad, having on the west side a portico 22 ft. 2 ins. long, and 14 ft. broad. Its roof was supported by two rows of massive columns, seven in each row, the bases of which in sufficient numbers remained to show the construction of the edifice. There were four fireplaces and three furnaces in the interior, but neither tessellated pavements, nor hypocaust, nor bath. The floor was paved with flint stones. We spent the whole week with six labourers in entirely removing the earth, which was afterwards trenched, so that everything that the vestiges could reveal we have found. I have brought home the majority of the articles found for the purpose of sending the Association some account of the discovery; a very brief notice of which has found its way into some local, and, I believe, other journals. [Mr. Kell's paper will be found *supra*, pp. 268-281.] The discovery is valuable, as settling the site of Vindunum, on which no building has before been found. We had excellent weather during the week of our investigation."

Mr. Kell then discusses the question at issue between himself and Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., with regard to the leaden seals and bullæ, or tickets, found in a Roman building at Gurnard's Bay, and engraved in the volume of our *Journal* for 1866, plates 22 and 23. He gives his reasons for adhering to the opinion that he has already expressed in his paper, pp. 351-363 of the same volume, that they are of Roman manufacture, and he adds the following observations in confirmation of his views upon the subject:—

"Mr. J. Edwin Smith, the finder of these seals, writes, 'They were found *only* in those spots where the greater part of the *Roman coins* was found, and *generally in company*. But the space was very circumscribed in comparison with the coins generally, whereas the coins have been found over a space of about one hundred yards of beach. None of these were found out of a circle of *twenty* feet. Several of them were found at the same time with the Roman hairpin.' I really do not know how any one can avoid seeing the force of these remarks in determining the age of the seals. The discovery among these comparatively few seals of one with the wolf and twins, gives to my view almost a demonstration of the Roman period of this seal, and this is a key to the whole. Then the letters and figures on the seals have a distinct relation to the tin trade, carried on at one time by the Mas-salian merchants under the government of Rome after Marseilles had been conquered by Julius Caesar. The probable interpretation of the letters *r. c.*, which occur on so many of the seals is, that they repre-

sent the initial letters of Tiberius Caesar. We know it was customary for the pigs of lead to be stamped with the Emperor's name, and what more likely than that the tin trade appurtenances would be marked by some reference to the supervision of the reigning Emperor? Then "the wheel with *four* spokes," which is the more common reverse, would be the device borrowed from the mintage of Marseilles, by whose merchants the trade was then carried on under Roman auspices. In our *Archæological Journal*, vol. v, p. 21, the Rev. Beale Poste writes: "About B. C. 600, the Phœceans colonised Marseilles, subsequent to which coins of Marseilles make their appearance. Their type being that of human heads, birds, beasts, etc., and afterwards '*the wheel with four spokes*,' and other delineations." Now such a combination as this obverse of the Emperor's initials, and the wheel with four spokes on the reverse, both referring to the circumstance of carrying on the tin trade, could not have occurred by chance. Such seals were not dumps. Moreover, this was the very spot where we might have looked for some relic of the existence of the tin trade, viz., on the very lines of route always considered that of its passage through the Isle of Wight. That plenty of specimens of children's playthings and 'dumps' may be found, having letters upon them, and that figures somewhat similar in form may be traced I have no doubt; but this is no argument against the reference of the leaden seals to Roman times if found with articles of Roman manufacture. Abundance of leaden seals are forthcoming applied to the object of sealing merchandise, both in present and former times, in transit from one country to another, so as to conceal the goods from the inspection of the authorities of the country through which the goods are passing. I have the authority of eminent mercantile men for saying that these seals would exactly suit that purpose, some of them having still left the holes through which strings or wires would pass. I do not say that these seals resemble in all respects the Roman seals pictured by Mr. C. Roach Smith in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, and before referred to, and used for mercantile purposes.

It is quite sufficient, being in such a different part of the kingdom, that there is a marked resemblance. Peculiarities of object and of the maker would suggest the occasion for differences of execution. Unless we consider the circumstances under which the seals were found, and are thoroughly acquainted with the subject of the ancient British trade, we shall underrate the value of the testimony which these seals afford to history. I am quite prepared to say that Mr. Cuming's objections make no impression on my mind, and that I could bring an equal number of eminent names to support the view I have taken, as against those which he has adduced. In the meantime I am happy to say the South of England Literary and Philosophical Society have voted a sum of

money for the further investigation of the garden adjoining this Roman villa, and we may hope that some further light may be thus afforded.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., exhibited an Indulgence granted by Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, in 1387, for the repair of S. Paul's Cross, and read the following remarks upon it.

This indulgence is one of an important series in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's Cathedral. It is very neatly written upon a strip of vellum about thirteen inches in length by six inches in breadth. A narrow strip has been partly cut off from the lower margin, in order to receive the episcopal seal, of which only a small fragment remains. The following is a literal transcript:—

“Univ'is sancte matris ecc'lie filiis p'sentes l'ras inspecturis. Rob'tus p'missione divina Londonien' ep'us: Salt'm in dñ'o semipit'nam. Obsequium gratum & deo pium tociens impendē opinam' quociens mentes fidelium ad caritatis & pietatis op'a affecturis indulgenciar' mun'ib' p'pensius excitavi'. Cum itaq' Crux alta in maori cimit'io n're ecc'lie Cath' vbi v'bum dei consuevit clero & populo p'dicari tanq'am in loco magis publico & insigni p' validos ventos turbines aerisq' tempestates ac t'ribiles t're motus que de dieb' in dies plus solito invalescunt adeo sit debilis & confracta q'd nisi celerius de refeccois & emendacōis remedio succurrat' eidem sine spe rep'acōis pristine funditus corruat in ruinam. Ad cuius quidem crucis emendacōem & repacōem p'pter inevitabiles magnos q' sumptus & expensas quos circa repacōem & refecōem dictæ n're ecc'lie Cath' & Campanilis eiusdem refunde' cotidie nos oportet sine pia elemosinar' largicōe fidelium non sufficim' in p'senti. De dei igitur om'ipotentis im'ensa mis'icordia beatissime q' Virginis Marie matris sue, beato' aplo' Petri & Pauli ac Sancti Erkenwaldi Confessoris gliōsi p'rono' n'ro' om'ium s'cor' m'itis & p'cib' confidentes, om'ibus & singulis p'rochianis n'ris & aliis quo' diocesani hanc n'ram indulgenciam ratam h'uerint & acceptam de p'ctis suis ver' penitentib' contritis & confessis qui ad refecōem & emendacōem d'ce crucis de bonis sibi a deo collatis aliqua contulerint legauerint seu quovismodo assignav'int subsidia caritatis, quadraginta dies indulgencie mis'icordi' concedim' p' p'sentes. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nr'm p'sentib' duxim' apponend'. Dat' in man'io n'ro de Hadham die xvj^a mens' Junii anno d'ni millimō ccc^{mo} lxxvij^{mo} et n're consecracōis anno sexto.”

On turning to Stow's *Annals*, I find it briefly set down under the date 1385, that is two years before the publication of this indulgence, “The third of May was an earthquake.” This was probably one of the “terribiles terræ motus” to which the indulgence refers. In Toone's *Chromological Historian* we read, “1381, earthquakes all over Europe. The very year itself, 1387, according to Stow, had also its prodigies.

"A manner of exhalation," he says, "in likeness of fire appeared in the night in many places of England, which went with men as they went, and stayed as they did, sometime like a wheele, sometime like a barrell, sometime like a timber-logge, but when many went together it appeared to be farre off."

I do not intend in this place to say anything about Paul's Cross itself, except that it stood in the churchyard, on the north side of the cathedral, towards the east end. It will be sufficient to refer those who desire further information to Sir Henry Ellis's edition of Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 87-91, where a long and very valuable note by the learned editor will be found appended to the text. Dugdale quotes, though not with verbal accuracy, a few words from this very indulgence now exhibited; and I am not aware that it has ever been printed *in extenso*.

I treat the subject thus briefly on this occasion, because I hope at some future time to publish a series of these indulgences. I cannot help thinking that they would form a not uninteresting addition to the rich stores of ecclesiastical archæology already gathered from the archives of S. Paul's Cathedral by the labours of the Venerable Archdeacon Hale. I need hardly say that I refer to the *Domesday of S. Paul's*, edited by the archdeacon for the Camden Society. The initial letter is adorned with a cross standing upon steps, in reference doubtless to the object of the indulgence; and the whole document is very carefully written.

The Chairman then closed the meetings for the Session, and announced that the annual Congress would be held at Ludlow under the Presidency of Sir Charles H. Rouse Boughton, Bart., Vice-President of the Society, from Monday the 29th of July, to Saturday the 3rd of August inclusive. He also stated that on the Monday after the Congress, Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., had kindly consented to conduct any of the members and visitors who might feel disposed, over the ancient city of Uriconium (Wroxeter), and that on Tuesday the Association had been invited by the Caradoc Field Club to join in an excursion to the Valley of Clun, the Bury Ditches, Clun Castle, and Offa's Dyke. He then declared the meeting adjourned till after the long vacation, and said that, as usual, due notices would be sent to members of the day of their re-assembling.

The following observations on "The True Antiquity of Weapons and Implements ascribed to a Geological Era," have been laid before the Association by W. Whincopp, Esq.

"It appears to be now generally admitted that the flint implements

of early date which have engaged so much attention, and have given rise to so much discussion with regard to the great antiquity of the human race, were fluvial deposits. They have been found usually within about twelve or fifteen feet from the surface, in France in the Valley of the Somme, in Suffolk at Hoxne on the Waveney, at Icklingham on the Larke, at Thetford on the Little Ouse, which was formerly the metropolis of the East Angles. The town there being wholly on the Suffolk side of the river, it is not improbable that at an earlier epoch of the habitation of our island, wars were carried on with neighbouring tribes, and that the weapons and implements were deposited for safety in these rivers, which in the course of many ages have changed their channels. Mr. Flowers's paper of February last, in the *Geological Journal*, mentions upwards of fifty of the flints having been obtained, and he considers the deposit to be as productive as any hitherto examined. They are of the same rude type as those from the continent of this early period; indeed, they bear an almost perfect resemblance to those which have been discovered in similar deep underground spots, and those which have come under my observation have been slightly water-worn.

"In the autumn of last year a very extensive and singular discovery was made at East Stonham, midway between Ipswich and Hoxne, near the high road, which was probably the iter to Norwich, from that celebrated British and Roman station, Camalodunum. The antiquities, which have been found in great abundance within about three feet of the surface, consist of an unusual variety of flint implements, such as spear-heads, knives or scrapers, used in flaying the animals on which the early settlers originally and in a great measure subsisted. There were also dug up, *in situ*, British quern stones, mammalian teeth and bones (some of which appear to be extinct), and with these were mingled Roman cinerary urns of the usual types, but few in a perfect state; with tiles, Samian ware, etc. These excavations at present extend over several acres; no remains of baths or pavements have presented themselves, although it may have been the depository of the dead for many centuries. Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and mediæval remains are dispersed throughout the country, and the celebrated medallist, Mr. Young, formerly observed, that he obtained more coins from the eastern counties than all the other parts of the kingdom.

"In order further to prove the real antiquity of the flints, in April last Mr. Pengelley gave several lectures on the geological evidences in Devonshire on the antiquity of man, and the caves have hitherto furnished considerable matter for discussion and investigation. In 1864 the British Association appointed a committee to make a systematic exploration of Kent's Cavern, Torquay. Mr. Pengelley gave details of the rigidly accurate method adopted in the exploration of a chamber in

the cavern hitherto intact, and from which large blocks of limestone had to be previously removed after blasting. Beneath these blocks lay a stratum of black muddy earth, in which was found a miscellaneous collection, including objects dating back from the present day to pre-Roman times, viz., marine shells, rounded and perforated stones, pottery, bronze, bone and stone implements, rings and other ornaments. In the stalagmatic floor beneath, were discovered pieces of charcoal, marine and land shells, and the bones of animals, mostly recent. Under this floor were found an immense quantity of bones of recent and extinct animals, together with very fine specimens of flint implements, some whetstones and a stone hammer, the transporting agent being neither the sea nor a permanent stream, but an occasional land flood.

“Mr. Pengelley’s concluding lecture was devoted to the valleys and gravels in South-Eastern Devonshire, after stating that flint flakes had been found mingled with the gravel, and examined the hypothesis which attributed them either to the era of submergence or that of emergence, or considered them to be of fluviate origin. These discoveries and investigations which have taken place so recently, must, it is presumed, form an additional proof that the real antiquity of the rude flints cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than about two thousand years before the Roman occupation, and there is every reason for believing that those which have been submitted to experienced judges and pronounced genuine, are really the work of man.”

The following communication has been received from the Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., dated Southampton, 19th Sept. 1867,—“It may be interesting to our members to know that, while the paper on Vindunum was going through the press, I explored, in company with Mr. Charles Lockhart, on Sept. 16th and 17th, the neighbourhood of the Roman building described at p. 271, etc.; and, after about five hours search, we discovered another Roman building of some description, situated in Castlefield, about 250 feet westward of the one already noticed. The part of the wall we examined was composed of similar flint stones, and was 3 feet wide. We were only permitted by Mr. Turner to uncover 15 feet of the wall, as the field was to be put into wheat. We were, however, promised that when the crop was gathered in, we should have free access to the ground for further exploration.”

Biographical Memoirs.

SINCE the publication of the obituary notices in our *Journal* for last year, death has removed from among us the following members of our Association.

GEORGE STEVENSON ELLIS, Esq., who first joined us in 1855. This gentleman, who was an F.S.A., was Principal of the Bullion Office in the Bank of England, and died suddenly of disease of the heart at Central Hill, Upper Norwood, on the 20th of February, 1866.

JOHN LEE, Esq., Q.C., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., etc., was born in 1783, and died at Hartwell House, near Aylesbury, Bucks, on the 25th of February, 1866, aged eighty-three. His original name was Fiott, his father, John Fiott, Esq., a descendant of an old Burgundian family of Dijon, having been a merchant in the City of London. His mother was Harriott, daughter of William Lee, Esq., of Totteridge Park, Herts, and granddaughter of Sir William Lee, Lord Chief Justice of England, 1737-1754. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; was fifth wrangler in 1806, took the degree of LL.D. in 1816, and was elected a Fellow of his college, and travelling Bachelor of the University. In this latter capacity he visited a great portion of the continent of Europe, and travelled extensively in the East, always, throughout his various tours, collecting objects of antiquity, for which he had a remarkable taste and fondness, and his store of which it was the main object of his life to increase both in extent and value. In the thirty-third volume of the *Archæologia* will be found a memoir of Dr. Lee's, accompanied by engraved illustrations, under the title of "Antiquarian Researches in the Ionian Islands in the year 1812;" giving an account of a portion of his travels during that year. Most of the objects described in this memoir were deposited by Dr. Lee with the Society of Antiquaries, and in their library is a printed catalogue presented by him of the Oriental MSS. he acquired during the time he was in Turkey. In 1827 Dr. Lee succeeded by will to the estate and name of his kinsman, the Rev. Sir George Lee, Bart., of Hartwell House, who had died without issue, and in 1851 appeared a handsome volume from the pen of his friend and neighbour, Admiral William Henry Smyth, which, under the title of *Ædes Hartwellianæ*, gives an elaborate description of the manor and mansion of Hartwell, with its antiquities, its astronomical observatory, and all the appliances and objects of art and science collected there. It is adorned with pictorial illustrations of the house and grounds, and their various contents, and

with a portrait of their late possessor in his observatory. The volume, which was only printed for private circulation, was followed in 1864 by a volume of *Addenda* having the same title as the original, and also written by Admiral Smyth.

In 1858, Mr. Joseph Bonomi, the celebrated Egyptian traveller and scholar, now the accomplished keeper of Sir John Soane's Museum, printed in a quarto volume a catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities in the museum of Hartwell House. The work contains a dedication to the then Duke of Northumberland, with whose friendship as well as with that of his Grace's father, mother, and brother, Dr. Lee was honoured, and it is illustrated with engravings and photographic pictures of many of the objects described in the text. In 1864 Dr. Lee was raised to the rank of Q.C. by Lord Chancellor Westbury, and was made a bencher of Gray's Inn. He was formerly one of the advocates of Doctor's Commons, and filled the offices of Librarian and Treasurer to the College. He continued to be a member of that venerable body till it became defunct, and several of the chairs formerly occupied by the most eminent of the associates of that once important society were taken possession of by him when the College was dissolved, and were placed in the great hall at Hartwell. Dr. Lee never practised extensively as an advocate at the "Commons," but merely took a part in any case in which he himself felt a personal interest. He was one of the oldest magistrates for the county of Bucks, having been appointed on the commission of the peace in 1819, and as his name stood first on the roll of high sheriffs for the county for 1867, he would most probably, had he lived, have been holding that office at the present time. Dr. Lee was Lord of the Manors of Hartwell, Stone, and Bishopstone, and patron of three livings, one of which (*viz.*, Edgware, co. Middlesex) was formerly held by the Rev. Nicholas Fiott, the father of Dr. John Lee's successor, Edward Dyke Lee, Esq., of Christ Church, Oxford; while the rectory of Hartwell, and the vicarage of Stone, Buckinghamshire, were made over by him some years ago to the Royal Astronomical Society, who have remained the patrons ever since. The doctor was an ardent lover of science, and was a member of the Geological, the Geographical, the Meteorological, the Syro-Egyptian, the Asiatic, the Chronological, the Numismatic, and other learned societies. Some of these, such as the Meteorological, the Syro-Egyptian, and the Anglo-Biblical (which latter is now extinct) were originated in the drawing-room at Hartwell, the owner of which was fond of assembling round him as his guests the most learned and scientific men of his day. He was a Fellow, and for two years President, of the Royal Astronomical Society, and built at Hartwell one of the best private observatories in the kingdom, where for some years competent astronomers were employed, at his expense, in making observations.

In 1862 he was President of our Congress at Leicester, and all who were fortunate enough to be present upon that occasion were no less struck by the appearance which he presented of the venerable English gentleman of the old school, than they were by the amiability of his conduct and the depth and variety of his learning. His benevolence was unbounded, and the Bucks County Infirmary, which was opened in 1833, and to which he presented the munificent donation of one thousand guineas, owes its establishment mainly to his influence and exertions. In politics he was an advanced liberal, and frequently appeared on the hustings at Aylesbury as the opponent of the Rt. Hon. B. Disraeli, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1835, 1841, and 1852, he went to the poll, but was not returned; and in his last contest for a seat in 1863 he polled only 312 votes against his opponent's 2,311. His failure was probably owing to his peculiar views on various social questions, and was certainly not attributable to any personal hostility to him, as no man was more popular among his friends and neighbours, more indulgent as a landlord and a master, or more deeply influenced in all his actions by feelings of philanthropy and benevolence than he was. Nevertheless, his energetic opposition to certain practices which he deemed not only useless but demoralising, doubtless induced many to prefer sending to the great council of the nation a candidate who would legislate more in accordance with popularly received opinions than Dr. Lee would have done. He was, for instance, a rigid abstainer from all intoxicating liquors, and advocated the principles of teetotalism both on the hustings and at his own house; he was also a determined enemy to the use of tobacco, and a staunch supporter of female suffrage. Dr. Lee was in the habit of having large assemblies of the "Band of Hope" and similar temperance societies in his park at Hartwell, and on the printed placards announcing these gatherings it was always distinctly stated that "*no smoking or intoxicating drinks would be permitted on the grounds.*" At these gatherings, which were denominated by their originator the "Hartwell Peace, Temperance, and Universal Brotherhood Festivals," addresses were delivered, and hymns sung, and for many years Dr. Lee published a pamphlet containing the speeches of those who were invited to assist at these "festivals."

In October, 1857, a portrait of Dr. Lee, painted by R. Tait, Esq., was presented to him by a select number of friends and acquaintances who desired to pay a tribute of respect to his virtues and learning. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy, was afterwards lithographed, and was then duly installed among the family portraits at Hartwell. Those who recollect Dr. Lee's personal appearance will not fail to recall the amiable and intelligent expression of his features, his scrupulous neatness and cleanliness, even in old age, and his dress, cha-

characteristic as it was of a gentleman of what is now known as the "old English school," of which Dr. Lee was, perhaps, the last surviving example. Those who enjoyed the privilege of intimate association with him, know how kind and considerate a friend they ever found him; whilst those who met him upon the more common and general grounds of literature and science, feel that they have lost a supporter than whom none was ever more willing to assist them in their onward course. Dr. Lee was twice married, first in 1833 to Miss Cecilia Rutter, who died in 1844; and secondly, to Louisa Catherine, elder daughter of Richard Ford Heath, Esq., of Uxbridge, but he has left no issue by either of his marriages. His widow, who survives him, still continues a life member of our Association.

MR. JOHN RICHARD JOBBINS, who was so well known to many of us as the engraver of the illustrations in our *Journal*, died on the 27th of February, 1866. He was originally a land-surveyor, but afterwards took to lithography, and invented the method of etching with a brush upon stone and zinc, by which process our *Journal* has been illustrated by him for many years. He was remarkably fond of his art, and was also a great enthusiast in all matters relating to archæology, of which he possessed a considerable knowledge. The numerous plates by him which have appeared in our *Journal*, attest the ability and conscientiousness with which he carried out whatever was entrusted to him; and his strict attention to business and his willingness to oblige those who came in contact with him in any matter connected with his profession, will be gratefully remembered by many of the officers of this Association. Mr. Jobbins joined our Society in 1852, and his widow still continues one of our members.

ROGER STAPLES HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., of Freshford, near Bath, and Tong Priory, near Shifnal, co. Salop, who was one of the original members of our Association, died the 12th of March, 1866, aged 73. This gentleman married Elizabeth, daughter of the late John Horman, Esq., of Pentonville, whose name he assumed by royal licence in 1832. He is succeeded by his son Roger, who was educated at the Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, and is a barrister-at-law.

WILLIAM DEBONAIRE HAGGARD, Esq., F.S.A., died at Durham Villas, Kensington, on the 4th of April, 1866, aged 79. He was of a most amiable disposition and was warmly attached to science. From an early period of his life he was a collector of coins and medals, especially turning his attention to those which were illustrative of English history. He wrote extensively on various matters connected with the currency question, and was a member of the Astronomical and Numis-

matic Societies, to the latter of which he contributed several papers, and in the May number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1850 will be found a communication from him entitled, "Who were the Gregorians alluded to by Pope?" Mr. Haggard was a member of our Council, upon which he served up to the time of his decease.

FREDERICK VALLÉ, Esq., died at Hampton Lodge, Evesham, the 6th of April, 1865, aged 69. He was connected with the well-known business house of Barto Vallé and Co., and joined our Association in 1845. He was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. Burney, and imbibed in early life a taste for classical literature, which he retained to the last. He was also a collector of rare books, manuscripts, and engravings.

REV. BENJAMIN MARDON, M.A., of Sidmouth, Devon, died at Exeter, the 15th of April, 1866, aged 74, having joined our Society in 1845. His mind and studies were carefully trained and directed in early life by the late Dr. Lant Carpenter, for whom he always felt the deepest respect: and having a strong desire to devote himself to the ministry amongst the Unitarians, he was sent to York College, and subsequently continued his studies at the Glasgow University, where he obtained his degree of M.A., and for nine years was the minister of a congregation in that city. He afterwards removed to London, and after twenty-six years of useful and laborious duty, he retired to Sidmouth in Devonshire, where ended his long and faithful ministry. Mr. Mardon was for many years a member of our Association. Among other communications he read, at our Chester Congress in 1849, a paper on "The Burial Place of the Widow of Milton." His paper is printed in the fifth volume of this *Journal*, p. 322. Mr. Mardon chiefly devoted himself to biblical criticism and the study of the Holy Scriptures. He was a frequent contributor to the periodicals connected with his own religious denomination, besides separate publications, and his writings were distinguished for learning and accuracy.

EDWARD ELEAZAR LAWRENCE, Esq., who joined our Association in 1859, died on the 20th of May, 1866, aged 82. He was a solicitor by profession, and was admitted an attorney in Easter Term, 1808, being at the time of his death, with the exception of a gentleman who was admitted in 1805, the oldest attorney on the rolls. He practised in his native town of Ipswich, where he also died, and on the passing of the municipal reform bill in 1836 was appointed clerk to the borough magistrates. He was also clerk to the magistrates of the Samford petty sessional district, which office he held for upwards of forty years, and for about the same period he was coroner for the liberty of the Duke of Norfolk, and solicitor to the Samford Hundred Association.

MRS. SARAH BATEMAN died at Middleton Hall, Derbyshire, on the 17th of July, 1866, aged 41. She was the second daughter of the late William Parker, Esq., of Middleton, and married in August, 1817, Thomas Bateman, Esq., of Middleton Hall and Lomberdale House, Bakewell, the well-known Celtic antiquary, author of *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, and various other archaeological treatises. He was one of the earliest members of our Association, his name appearing on the list of the general committee for the Winchester Congress in August 1845, and he contributed three papers to the second volume of our *Journal*, as well as many others in successive numbers. Upon his death in 1861 his widow joined our body, and although she has never contributed anything to us of a literary character, she was, notwithstanding, a warm and liberal supporter of science, and always manifested the greatest interest in antiquarian pursuits. She has left issue four daughters and one son, Thomas William, born in 1852 and was buried in the family vault at Middleton-by-Youlgrave, on the 24th of July.

HENRY KINGSFORD, Esq., late of Queen's-gate Gardens, London, died at the residence of his son at Littlebourne in Kent, on the 26th of July, 1866. He first joined the Association in 1845.

WILLIAM MATHEWSON HINDMARCH, Esq., Q.C., who first joined our Association at the Durham Congress in 1865, was born the 20th of June, 1803, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle, the 27th of August, 1866, aged 64. He was the son of the late Mr. William Hindmarch of Sunderland, brewer, by Maria, daughter of Walter Mathewson, Esq., of Hatfield, co. Herts. He was originally intended for the medical profession, but at the desire of his father changed his intention and studies, and devoted himself to the law. He was called to the bar at Gray's Inn in 1832, practised on the Northern Circuit, and in 1862 was made a Q.C. and a bencher of his Inn. In 1865 he was appointed Recorder of York, and at the last general election was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Leominster. He was also Attorney-General for the county of Durham, a Fellow of the Chemical Society of London, and was appointed by Lord Westbury as one of the examiners of accounts, etc., in the Patent Office, having previously acquired considerable reputation at the bar in connection with patent cases. He was also a Commissioner of Patents, and laid before the Committee which sat upon them a report differing from that of his brother commissioners. He was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Aix-la-Chapelle, and has left a widow, one son, and two daughters.

SAMUEL REYNOLDS SOLLY, Esq., was born the 3rd of March, 1781.

He was the second son of Samuel Solly, Esq., of Great Ormond Street, London, and was educated at Cheam School, from whence he proceeded to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where he took his degree of B.A. in 1801, and his M.A. in 1804. He was subsequently elected a Fellow of his College, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn. He was also an F.R.S., F.S.A., and a member of the Geological Society, the Archaeological Institute, and other learned societies, as well as an active member of our own Association (which he joined in 1845), having served for several years on the Council, and being ultimately elected a Vice-President. He was a liberal patron of art, and warmly devoted to science. He evinced great interest in the Abbey church of St. Alban's, and in conjunction with the late Dr. Nicholson, rector of the Abbey parish, was mainly instrumental in collecting subscriptions for the repairing and restoration of that beautiful and venerable edifice. Mr. Solly was a J.P. and D.L. for the county of Herts, and a magistrate for the liberty of St. Albans. He married in 1809 Frances, daughter of William Hammond, Esq., of Champneys, Tring, Herts, by whom he has left issue, and died at his residence in Manchester Square, London, on the 19th of September, 1866.

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A FEW NOTES OF THE EARLY CHURCH- WARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF THE TOWN OF LUDLOW.

BY THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.

THE municipal archives of the town of Ludlow contain a considerable number of records of great interest, not only locally, but in relation to general history, and especially to that of social life in England during periods of great importance. It is not, however, my intention to enter upon any general account of them at present, as I hope to be able to give a careful and detailed description of them on another occasion. I wish, on this occasion, only to call attention to one document of considerable interest, a volume which contains the accounts of the churchwardens during the successive years from 1540, when they begin, to the year 1607, thus extending from the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII, through those of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, down to the beginning of the reign of James I. At the opening of this period, the Reformation in England was only at its commencement—the year of our first churchwardens' accounts was that of the death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, under whose ministry it had been fostered. At the end, it had become established by the long reign of Elizabeth. During a period which witnessed so many political and social changes, the various entries in these accounts cannot fail to convey much interesting information, and the

character of this information will be best understood by a short review of some of the earlier years.

The churchwardens for the year 1540 were Richard Langford (then a well-known name in Ludlow), and William Lacon, in whose time the forms of the Romish worship appear to have been in full force in the church. Their expenses relate chiefly to the repairing and cleaning of the church and its furniture of all kinds and of the sacred vestments. Among payments for these purposes, we meet with such items as the following:—

“Item, payd to the bellmon ffor yve and holye at Chrystemas, *ijl.*

Item, payd for the holye candylle, *ijs. vjd.*

Item, bought of Mr. Wardene for the pascalle a dosen *li.* of bolen waxe, prysse *vjs. viijl.*

Item, payd for the makyng off the pascalle, *ijs. vjd.*

Item, for woode and oyle to the same pascalle, *iiijl.*

Item, payd the belmon for his labor, *iiijl.*

Item, spend on them when the hade made the pascalle, *vjd.*

Item, payd for our dynner the same tyme, *viijl.*”

The “Paschal” was, of course, the Paschal taper which it was the custom to light on Easter eve. It was often of large dimensions, which will account for the quantity of wax employed in its construction; the Paschal in the abbey church of Westminster in 1557 weighed three hundred pounds. The no less important ceremony of fitting up and watching the sepulchre during the night of Good Friday is also the subject of numerous payments. One entry in this year illustrates the manner in which many of our well-known surnames arose, some of them at no very remote date:—

“Item, paid to Phillip Tynker and Mathow Buclermaker for dravyenge of the yryn and makynge of the stapuls, *ijs.*”

There can be little doubt that these two individuals really exercised the callings indicated by their names, which probably only became permanent in the family after a generation or two. The following entries occur in the same year:—

“Item, paid for colis agaynst Chrystmas, Ester, Whytsontyd, and Alhalontyd, to sense with and to wecche the sepulchre, *iiijl.*

Item, payd to master wardene for syngyng brede, *ijs. iiijl.*

Item, payd to Philipe Tynker for brassyng of a kandylstyeke, *iiijl.*”

“Singing bread” is said to be another name for the consecrated wafers.



“Item, payd to master Langforde for a corde to hange the lawnterne
in the body of the churche, iiij*l*.

Item, for iij *li.* of candelles to the lawnterne in the body of the
churche, vij*d.* ob."

“Item, for ij mens labor ij dayes and a halfe for castynge downe
snowe of the church, **xxd.**

The entries relating to repairs, etc., of the church throughout these accounts are very numerous, and most interesting for the history of the fabric.

"Item, to the barber for the holly candelle, ijs. vjd."

“Item, to Thomas Underwode for mendynge the iron cheyre in the
heyghe quyre, *vjd.*

Item, for a pes of timber to make the bem, xvjd.

Item, for the squarynge of hym in the woode, xd.

Item, to Rolande Huntt for the carege home, xd.

Item, to the kervens on the sayde beme for ix daies worke, ix*s*.

Item, to Thomas Smythe for iij bordes to the beme, vjd.

Item, for candles to the kervers, *ijd.*

Item, to Thomas Bolde for makynge the holes in the stone walle for the beme, vjd."

This beam, to judge by the payment to the carvers, must

have been a valuable monument of Ludlow art. The barbers come in again,—

“Item, the barbers brekefast at the makynge the Pascale, viij*l*.”

Richard Waties and Moris Phillips, churchwardens in 1543, had still to make heavy payments for mending the bells, and for other purposes, which were repeated year after year. The door-locks seem to have been continually getting out of order, and the keys damaged or lost. Among other items this year, we may notice :—

“Item, paid to John Fortene for ij keyes, one to the quere dore, and the other to our Lady chappelle dore, iiij*l*.”

* * *

Item, payd John Gwyn for ij bordes to make the yates in the church-yorde, xij*l*.

Item, payd to Kerie for ij lasp for the same yatt, iiij*l*.

Item, for a peyre of hynges to the same, iiij*l*.

Item, for nayles, iiij*l*.

Item, to John Meredith for makynge the yatt, x*l*.

* * *

Item, to sir William of Seynt Lenardes for a pistille boke, xij*l*.

Item, for half a yarde of whyt fustiane and for thryd to mende our Lady vestmentes, v*l*.

* * *

Item, payd Thomas Payyer for swepyng the church, xv*l*.

Item, payde his sonne for whippinge doges out of the church, viij*l*.”

To judge by the sum paid for it, this employment was anything but a sinecure; and it is curious as explaining the origin of the title still given, in many parts of England, to the church beadle, of “the dog-whipper.”

During the year 1544, Robert Adder and Richard Lane churchwardens, the details of work upon the church are very full and curious, and we have a perpetual mending and making of door-keys for different parts of it. In the year following, 1545, Holle ap Rees and John Clee were churchwardens. Among many other curious entries this year are

“Item, to the belmon for makynge cleue of the church, iiij*l*.

Item, payd for redдынge the church of stonys, ij*l*.

Item, payd for mendynge of our Lady belrope, ij*l*.

Item, payd for a loke to the clocke dore, vij*l*.

* * *

Item, to sir Richarde Cupper in a reward a peir of gloves, price ij*l*.

* * *

Item, for takynge downe of the beame in the middle of the church, x*l*.

* * *

Item, for mendynge of the wyndow in Saynt Margretes chauncelle, and for pargettyng the leades, to Thomas Season, iijs. viij*l*.”

Whether the beam thus taken down were the same, the carving of which was recently so expensive, or one mentioned later on, we cannot say. This year the churchwardens gave each his account separately. In John Clee's part we have

"In primis, payd for a key to the dore that goothe up into the stiple, ij*l*.

Item, for makynge of the bow of the keye of the churche dore, j*l*.

Item, payd for mendynge of the payne of glasse in the stiple on the south syde, to Thomas Season, xiiij*l*."

With many other items more or less curious. In 1546, John Belle and William Clonton were churchwardens, and William Phillips and Thomas Blashefild were elected bailiffs. Among the entries this year may be noticed—

"Item, payde to the decons for tending the Easter tapur, iiij*l*.

Item, to Rushbiry for mendynge of a cantilcop, v*l*.

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Item, payde for coverynge of my lady Tounesendes mother grave and Alis Bonnettes grave, iiij*l*.

Item, payde to sir Richarde Copper for the cannoppy, x*l*.

Item, payde to the vycyter servauntes, xiiij*l*."

On the 28th of January, 1546, according to the mode of reckoning in use at that time, but which, in our reckoning, we should call January, 1547, King Henry VIII departed this life, and he was succeeded the same day by his son as King Edward VI. With Edward our country was entering upon a great religious revolution. William Chalmyk and Lewys Crowther were churchwardens in 1547. The first items in their accounts are—

"In primis, payde to the glasyares for mendynge the wyndowys about the churche and the mendynge a payne besides, xxs. viij*l*.

Item, for xij*l*. and a hallfe of candelles for the first mas and to ryng curfur, iis. iij*l*."

Some circumstance must have caused, this year, an unusual destruction of the church windows. There are many other curious notices of repairs, with the expenses of Paschal taper, Easter sepulchre, etc., which shew that the old Romish ceremonies were still going on during at least part of the year, though the authorities were evidently cautious, and less lavish in their expenditure. This continued to be the case during a part of the next year, 1548, when William Hobs and Thomas Coxe were churchwardens; but the royal visitors were here during the year, and we shall soon see

the result. Their visit was not inexpensive to the churchwardens, as we find among the entries in their accounts,—

“Item, to Richarde Tomlyns for makynge our sertificatt to the visitors at ther beinge here, xij*d*.

Item, to Thomas Hony for his fee, xij*d*.”

What the commissioners did may be understood by other entries in the same accounts, for we find among them,—

“Item, to the sayd Thomas [Season] and Newelle, for pentinge of the roode loftte, xxvj*s*. viij*d*.

Item, to the sayd Thomas and others for takynge downe of the rood and the images, v*s*. viij*d*.

* * *

Item, for an edge to stay the Byble upon the desk, ij*d*.

Item, to Stephen Knyghte for mendynge the locke of the church doore, and for a key to the cofer in our Lady chancelle, v*d*.

Item, for nayles to hange up clothes when the images was pulled downe, iij*d*.

* * *

Item, for a roppe to our Lady belle, and a register to the Bible, xv*d*.

Item, for a Bible for our partt, vijs. viij*d*.

* * *

Item, to Coke for whitlymyng the church ij dayes worke, and for a busshelle and a whop of lyme, xv*d*. ob.

Item, to William Marteyne for a dayes worke makynge the rode loft playne, vj*d*.”

This last item means, of course, destroying the superstitious ornamentation. A little further on in the accounts of this year, and we learn more about these “images.” The receipts had become a very important part of the accounts, for they arose from the sale of the objects of Romish superstition, and we learn not only something of the appearance which the interior of our church must have presented before the Reformation, but the manner in which these superstitious objects were distributed by the sale. The principal receipts of this year are :—

Receytes of the sayd church wardens the said yere.

“Item, of Robert Mollyngre and David ap Rice for the loftte that Saynt George stode one, v*s*.

Item, of Thomas Hony for the image of Saynt George that stode in the chapelle, xvij*d*.

Item, of John Coxo for a volt that the sayd image stode in, iij*s*. iij*d*.

Item, of William Philipps for a image of John that stode in Beawpie chapelle, x*d*.

Item, of the sayd William for a tabernacle that Saynt Margett stode in, vj*d*.

Item, of John Season for ij voltes that stode in our Lady chapelle, xx*d*.

Item, of Walter Rosse for the dragon that the image of Saynt George stode upon, *vijl.*

Item, for the tabernacle that the image of Saynt Kateryne stode in. of Gillmyn, *vjd.*

Item, of Walter Taylor for the case that stode in Trynitie chauncelle, *ijs. ij.*

Item, of Lewis Crother for the tabernacle that Saynt Anne stode in, *viiij.*

Item, of Thomas Cother for the olde case of the organs, *xij.*

Item, for our parte of the olde Byble, *ijs. iiij.*

Item, of Stephen Knyght for a quarter and *x li.* of iron, *iijs. iiij.*

Item, of William Bradshaw for *iiij* standardes weynge a c. and d. and *xxvj li.*, *xxiijs.*

Item, of Stephen Knyght for a quarter and *xiiij li.* of olde iron, *ijs. vj.*"

Still some of the old forms and observances continued to be observed. In the year 1549, under the churchwardenship of William Benson and Richard Stanway, we continue to find charges for the paschal taper, and for articles used in the service of the mass :—

"Item, payd for *vij li.* of waxe to make the pascalle, *iijs. viij.*

Item, payd for the parishe bookes, *vz. iiij* mase bookes, one Paraf-
frace, and *vij* Salters, *xxxvjs.*

Item, for sewygne the albus, and for thred, *vij.*

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Item, payd for singinge brede, *xiiij.*

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Item, for a tapur to the first masse, *vj.*"

Among other entries in the same year, we have the following. The church must have been greatly defaced by all these destructive proceedings :—

"Item, for paper to pryk songes in for the churche, *ij.*

Item, to John Lyngan for settyng the cover over the pylpitt, *xx.*

Item, for a forme for folkes to sytt upon, *vij.*"

And among the receipts :—

"Item, receyved of John Belle for *xx* pyllars of Mr. Wyat chauncelle, *ijs. iiij.*

Item, receyved of Rees ap Thomas for *xvj* short bordes, *xx.*

Item, receyved of John Rose for a kervid borde, *vj.*

Item, receyved of Moris Phillipps for *iiij* pyllars of Mr. Wyat chauncelle, and for a border, *xij.*

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Item, of Mr. Alsop for the pyllars of the rode chauncelle, *xvj.*

Item, more Mr. Parterige, the yonger, for the carvyd beame in the churche.

This, perhaps, was the expensively carved beam mentioned before; the sum for which it was sold is omitted. The

following items occur in the accounts for the year 1550, when Antony Atkinson and Edward Cuper were churchwardens :—

“Item, to Thomas Season for gowinge up into the stiple ij. wyndy nyghtes to save the glase ther in the wyndowis, *xd.*

* * *

Item, to Thomas Season for mendynge of the glasen wyndowis in the stiple, and for a new pane, *xxd.*

Item, to the said Thomas for mendynge of Saynt Katern wyndow, and for glase, *vjs. viiijd.*

Item, for mendynge of Saynt Margettes wyndow, *xxd.*

Item, to the sayd Thomas for ix fote of new glasse to the west wyndow in the stiple, *vjs.*

* * *

Item, to hym for half a day [work] at the whirle yate anont the college dore, *iiijd.*”

In the year following, 1551, when Robert Mason and Robert Mollynger were churchwardens, we have entries of numerous expenses for alterations in the body of the church, and for making communion table, seats, etc. I will only mention the following :—

“Item, paid to ij plommers for ij daies and a d. worke over our Lady chauncelle and Saynt Margrettes chauncelle after *vijjd.* the day, *iijs. viijd.*

Item, to John Broke for mendynge ij peyre of organs, *xijd.*

* * *

Item, payd for rushes to the Trinitie chancelle, *ijd.*

Item, for makynge of the ij beeris and for nailes, *iijs. iiijd.*

Item, to Thomas Dike and Thomas Bold for leyng of the aulter stonys in the midle of the churche, *vjs. ijd.*

Space will not allow me to continue these extracts through the years which follow, which are equally curious, and help to illustrate the internal history of the town in many of its interesting characteristics, and especially in regard to the condition and the changes in our noble church through a very important period. These few notes from the first eleven years in our accounts will show how much general interest they possess. I consider that the whole volume of these churchwardens' accounts is well worthy of being printed entire.

There is one class of items to which I have not yet alluded, and which possesses great interest in regard to questions of an ecclesiastical character now in discussion—I mean the entries relating to the distribution of the *pews*. I have preferred collecting those items together, and the following extracts contain, I believe, everything on this

subject in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The first is an order of the bailiffs made in the year 1540, the earliest of these accounts preserved. The rest are chiefly taken out of the churchwardens' "receipts."

"Die Luna v^{ca}. xvj^o die mensis Februarii, anno regis Henrici Octavi xxxj", coram Johannem Taylor et Johannem Lokyer, ballivos domini regis villæ de Ludlow.

"At whiche day it ys ordered and agreed be the seid baylifes that the forseid Richard Langford from hensfourth shalle pesably have, occupie, and enjoye the pewe, or sette, in the churche late in the tenure of Alice Lane decessed, ffor whiche pewe the seid baylifes have awarded that the seid Richard Langford shalle content and paye to the churche wardeyns, over the ijs. wherin the churche upon hys account restith in hys debt, the some of vjs. viij*l*. sterlinge, whiche ys payd the seid day and yere, etc., quiet."

In 1541, among the "receyttes," we have,—

"Ressevid of Walter Torites wyf for Annes Davis knelynge place, xij*l*.
Ressevid of Thomas Heyton for the reversyon of his fathers pewe, v*l*.
Ressevyd of Rychard Rawlens wyf for Elisabeth Gwyns knelynge place, viij*l*."

In 1542, among the payments,—

"Item, to Mr. Langford for vj bordes to make the comyn pewis, iijs.
Item, a pes of tymber to undersett the comyn pewis, iiij*l*.
Item, to Hoper and his ij men for y^e mendynge of the pewis iij days and a d., iijs. vij*l*.
Item, for nayles at John Seassons for the stiple and the comyn pewis, xij*l*."

And among receipts,—

"Item, of mistres Sellmon for a pytt, vjs. viij*l*.
Item, more of her for a pewe, iijs. iiij*l*.
Item, of Davy Shermon for a pewe, iijs. iiij*l*.
Item, that my felowe hathe of Richard Langfort for y^e same pewe, vjs. viij*l*.

Memorandum, the pewe in varians betwen Thomas Cother and Richard Langford ys graunted for the noble above specified to the said Richard, as aperith by an order made in thend of the accounte of the said Richard when he was churche warden, made by John Taylor and John Lokyer then baylifs."

In 1543, receipts,—

"Item, receyved of Mrs. Glasyer for her pewe after the disses of her husband, xx*l*.
Item, receyved of Richard Watier for a pew after the decease of Mr. Draper, xx*l*.
Item, receyved of mastres Alsop for the revercon of mastres Salmon pewe, [*the sum not stated.*]

Item, hyt ys grauntyd to Thomas Leawys that he and his wyf shalle enjoye the half pew in reversion after the decease of master Hare now in his possession, payinge ijs.

Item, hyt ys graunted to Richard Waries half of the pewe whiche Thomas Leawys hathe in possession, payinge xx*d*."

1544, receipts,—

"Item, receyved of William Partryge yonger for halfe a pewe and for the reversion after Hasywood, ijs. iiij*d*."

In 1545, in Holle ap Rees's share of the receipts, —

"Item, receyved of Mr. Cother for the pewe anont the fonte, my parte, xx*d*."

Item, receyved of Mrs. Poton in parte of payment of vjs. viij*d*. for the pewe under the pilpitt, and the rest to be payd at the feast of the Nativitie of Saynt John Baptist next ensuyng, vs.

Item, receyved of Elizabeth Glover for her kneelynge place behynd the northe church dore, viij*d*."

John Clee's share,---

"Item, receyved of Mrs. Cother for her pewe, my parte, xx*d*."

In 1546, among the receipts, are many payments for pitts, meaning apparently graves or vaults, as,—

"Item, receyved for the pytt of my ladie Towneshendes mother, vjs. viij*d*."

Item, receyved of Alis Rogers for her mothers pewe, iijs. iiij*d*."

Memorandum, that at this day of accompt, beyng the xvij day of November, there is grauntyd in revercon to Thomas Blaschfeld, bayliff, and John Alsop, a certen pue, or sett, in the church, late in the occupation of John Bradshaw, gent., as sone as the same pue shalbe due by the abeensye, forfeiture, or surrender of the said John Bradshaw."

The reign of Henry VIII is now over, and we enter that of Edward VI. The Reformation has really set in, but we find no change in the pew system. In 1547, among the receipts, occur:—

"Receyved of Mrs. Poton for the rest of her pewe, xx*d*."

Item, sett to William Tenson a pewe by the rode chanselle by the consent of Mr. bayliffes, and receyved of hym for the same, xx*d*."

Item, recevid of William Chelmyk for increasyng a pew of Thomas Rascalle a fote of lenth, and for that charges the sayd Chelmyk most have the other half of Thomas Rascalle pew by their bothe consentes, receyved of hym for the grond, iiij*d*."

Item, sett to Lewys Philipps and Lewys Crouther a pewe wiche of late was Richard Berys pewe, receyved of hym for the same, iijs. iiij*d*."

Memorandum, this day and at this accounte grauntyd by Lewys Phillippes, one of the bayliffes, and Lewys Crowther, one of the late church wardens and now one of the accountantes, one pewe which

late was Richard Beries, for whiche sayd pewe the sayd Philipes hath relesyd iijs. iiij*d.*, parcel of the debet that the churche rested in his dett when he was church warden, and the seyde Crother payd for his parte iijs. iiij*d.*, whiche is payd, as apperithe by this account."

1548, under the head of receipts,—

"Item, of William Hoke for a pew by the rode chancelle, ijs.

Item, of Thomas Coxe for half the pew withe Robert Adies, xij*d.*"

In 1549,—

"In primis, of Thomas Beadow wif for a pew rowme wher Bewpies chancelle was, xvij*d.*

Item, received of John Newton for the ground that his pew stand on wher Cookes chancelle was, xv*d.*

Item, received of hym for tymber to make the pew, ijs.

Item, rec. of Richard Stanwey for the revercion of Margery Hoodes pew, xx*d.*"

In 1551, among items of expenditure, we find :—

"In primis, payd to John Lyngham for iiij days worke, after viij*d.* a day, for moving the pilpett and makynge seetes by y^e Trinitey chancelle, ijs. iiij*d.*

Item, paid to William Gers and Roger Swyft for makynge of the pewis by the rode chauncelle for vi daies, after vij*d.* the daye, vijs.

Item, to John Blont for mendynge of a seet in the Trinitey chauncelle, iiij*d.*

In 1551, during the churchwardenship of Robert Mason and Robert Mollynges, the entries relating to pews become very numerous :—

"In primis, of William Philipes towards the movinge of the pilpett, vjs. viij*d.*

Item, rec. of Richarde Lloyd for a pew place next to John Newton, ijs.

Item, rec. of William Phillipps for a pew place, xx*d.*

Item, rec. of Anthoni Atkynson for a pew place where the pilpett stode, iijs. iiij*d.*

Item, rec. of Robert Bradoke for a pew place behynde the Trinitey chauncelle, iijs. iiij*d.*

Item, rec. of Richard Kener for a pew place beside the said chauncelle, ijs.

Item, rec. of William Bradshaw and Richard Stanwey for the agmentynge of ther pew, ijs.

Item, of Richard Rogers for thend of a pew with his brother in law, xx*d.*

Item, rec. of John Clee and John Belle for a pew late Jane Fernes, xiijs. iiij*d.*

Item, rec. of William Huke for a pew place next to Howelle ap Rees, ijs.

Item, rec. of Richard Adams for a pew place next to Mr. Colliers, ijs.

ment. But I find other isolated proofs of the antiquity of the use of the pew. In the English *Mort d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, printed by Caxton, Sir Galahad, one of the purest of the heroes, who is destined to be the discoverer of the St. Grael, arrives at the monastery in which King Evelake, the companion of Joseph of Arimathea in his visit to Britain, and who had been condemned to live three hundred years, was residing as a monk. "And," says the text, "on the morn he heard his masse, and in the monastery he fonde a preeste redy at the aulter. And on the ryght syde he sawe a *pewe* closyd with yron." This, no doubt, was not only a pew, but a closed pew. But we can go considerably farther back even than this. The celebrated poem of the *Vision of Piers Ploughman* was no doubt composed about the year 1360, and its different texts, which vary considerably, belong all to a period extending not much beyond the middle of the second half of the fourteenth century. In the text represented by Whitaker's edition (p. 95), Wrath, in his confession, says that he was accustomed "to sit among wives and widows shut up in pews," and adds that this was a fact well known to the parson of the parish:—

"Among wyves and wodewes
Ich am ywoned sute
Yparroked in *pures*,
The parson him knoweth."¹

The verb *parroken*, derived from the word *parrok*, a park, means, in its primary meaning, to enpark, or inclose like a park, but it was used more generally in the signification of to enclose, or close up. In another part of the poem, in the text represented by my own edition (p. 312), Paul the hermit is said to have shut himself up in a hermitage,—

"Paul *primus heremita*
Had *parroked* hymselfe,
That no man myghte hym se
For mosse and for leves."

The well-known mediæval dictionary, the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, defines the word, "PARROKKYN, or speryn in streyte place," which is, in another MS., expressed by "closyn in straythly," that is, in a narrow place. Under the other word, we have, in the *Promptorium*,—

¹ The MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XVI, which gives the same text as Whitaker, reads *sitte* and *pues*: *sute* is, of course, only another form of *sitte*, if it be not a mere error of Whitaker's, who was very incorrect in whatever he did.

SPERYN, or schettyn. *Closyn.*

SPERYN, and close withein (closyn in, MS. K). *Includo.*

SPERYN, and schette wythe lökkys. *Sero, obsero.*"

Nobody will surely deny that these early pews were closed in, and no doubt locked. It is curious, too, to remark, in illustration of the passage of *Piers Ploughman*, how often in the Ludlow churchwardens' accounts the possessors of pews are "wives and widows."

I am inclined to think that the word *pew* itself is not of foreign origin, but that it has been originally a word of popular growth, and it appears not to have been in use as belonging to correct literature until rather a late date. I have in vain sought through all the dictionaries, English and Latin, or English and other languages, till towards the latter part of the sixteenth century, and yet in the fourteenth century, when *Piers Ploughman* was written, and, in 1485, when the *Mort d'Arthur* was printed, it must have been well known. It was evidently an obscure word with our early etymologists, who are represented by Junius and Skinner, and whose explanations are very far from satisfactory. They fancied it to be derived from the Latin *podium*, and this notion appears ever since to have been accepted as a fact without question or inquiry. But there are two objections to this piece of etymology which appear to me very serious. In the first place, the Latin word *podium* never meant a pew; in the second place, any one acquainted with mediæval philology knows that the word cannot have come from the Latin into English in this form, except through the Roman dialects, either Norman or French, and there does not appear ever to have existed in French any such word with such a meaning. It is true that worthy old Minshewe derives it in rather an indirect manner, for he says the pew was called *podium*, because it stretches out like a foot, *quod ad pedis modum extentet*, but it is an explanation which appears to me not very clear.

In pure Latin, according to Ainsworth, the word *podium* had two meanings—1, an open gallery, a balcony or building jutting out; 2 (technical), that part of the theatre near the orchestra. In mediæval Latin, according to Ducange, the word had three meanings, of which the first was a support or prop of any kind, anything on which one leans, as a staff, crutch, or walking-stick: applied also to the part

of the form on which the monks leaned in kneeling to prayer. From a debased form of this word, *appodiumentum*, were derived the French words *appui* and *appuyer*. The second meaning given by Ducange is a balcony, taken, of course, from the pure Latin. The third and only other mediæval meaning of the word was a hill, represented by the French *puy*, still represented in names of mountains, as the Puy-de-Dôme in Auvergne, with a variety of dialectic forms, as *pou*, *pée*, *pic*, etc. We have thus the Pec de St. Germain en Laye, the Pou de Flamanville in Normandy, and the well-known Pic de Teneriffe. It is here represented by the English *peak*.

Our old etymologists quote derivatives from the Latin word, which they pretend are identical with our English *pew*, but not one of them will bear any examination. As I have said, there is no such word in French. They point to *puye* and *puyde* in Flemish and Dutch, but in the first of these languages the word meant only a support; and in the Dutch dictionary of Hexam, printed in 1678, I find it defined, "*Puye*, a pue, or place elevated in a market, to proclaim or cry anything," which is no doubt an adaptation of the old meaning of a balcony. Another Dutch dictionary explains it as signifying "the front of a house, a place from which proclamations are read." The old etymologists appeal also to the Italian *poggio*, which is no doubt derived from *podium*, but they were quite unacquainted with its true meaning. Florio explains it, "*Poggio*, a hill, a block to get on horseback"; and he gives, as a diminutive, "*Poggiuolo*, a hillock, a horseblock, a leaning place."

It seems to me evident, from the reasons I have adduced, that our English word *pew* is not derived from the Latin *podium*, but that it is an old popular English word, the derivation of which, as in so many similar cases, is long forgotten.

Since the foregoing notes were written, I am enabled, through the kindness of a city friend, A. J. Waterlow, Esq., to add to it a number of extracts relating to pews from a still existing series of early churchwardens' accounts, belonging to the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, London. These accounts begin with the year 1456, the 35th of the reign of King Henry VI, and are continued without interruption down to the year 1475, the 14th of Edward IV, so that

they are much older than the allusion in the *Mort d'Arthure*. There is then a long lacuna, and the accounts only begin again in 1548, which was the first year of the reign of Edward VI. I will only remark farther, that, like those of Ludlow, they give us very valuable information on the character of the pews, and it is highly interesting to have to compare together two series of accounts from such widely distant parts of the kingdom.

1457. *The 36th of King Henry VI.*

Item, payd for an henge for Russells wyfes pewe, *iiijl.*

1459. *38th Hen. VI.*

Item, for amendyng of the garnettes of ij pewes, and for nayl to the same, *j^d ½.*

Item, for amendynge of ij menes pewes and j womans pew, with *j^d.* for naill and candell, *vijl.*

1460. *39th Hen. VI.*

Item, paid to a carpenter workyng by half a day in emendynge of a pew, *iiijl.*

Item, for garnettes *iiijl.* and nayles *j^d.* spended in the same pew, *vd.*

Item, to a carpenter by a day floryng a pew and other necessaries, *viiijl.*

1464. *4th Edw. IV.*

Item, payde to Henry Chad, carpenter, for makyng of pewes, *xxiijs.*

Item, payd for cariage of the said pewes to and fro, *iiijl.*

Item, payde for sconchons for the saide pewes, *iiijl.*

Item, payde for an enge of a pew, *vjd.*

1466.

Item, for nayle for the pewes, *iiijl.*

Item, payde to a carpenter for mending of the pewes and dores, *vs. vjd.*

1467. *7th Edw. IV.*

Item, payed for wode and cole, and for amendyng of the lede over my lady Stokkers pew, *j^d ½.*

Item, payed to a smyth for makyng of a lok to maister Stokkers pew, *viiijl.*

1468. *8th Edw. IV.*

Item, for makyng of ij new pewes in the chirche, *viiijl.*

Item, for amendyng of the old pewes in the chirche, *xd.*

1469.

Item, payed for ij rat trappes for the chirche, *vjd.*

Item, paid to the raker for caryng away of the chirche dust whan the pewes were made clene, *viiijl.*

Item,¹ payed for a pair new garnetts for a pew in the chirche, *vjd.*

Item,¹ payed for amendyng of a pair of olde garnetts, *iiijl.*

Item,¹ for amendyng of olde pewes in the chirche, *iiijl.*

¹ The three entries beginning with this come together. It may be remarked that *garnetts*, in old English, meant hinges.

Item, payed for ij pair garnettes and for amending of olde pewes in the chirche, *ixd.*

1470.

Item, payde for mending of the pewes in the chirche, *iiij^d.*

Item, payde amending of the puyes in the chirche, *ijd.*

Item, for mending of a pewe in the chirche, *jd.*

1471.

Item, paid for amending of pewys in the chyrche, and for S. William Barbers almery, and for making of the cros in the chyrche yerde, and for naylls, and for tymbre for the cros, and ffor the carpenters labur, *xxd.*

1473.

Item, for making of mayster Stokkers pew, *xs. xij^d.*

Item, payde to a carpenter for mending of the pewes in the chirche, and for mending of the crosse in the chirchawe, *iiij^d.*

Item, for sconcheons and a felet for the same pewes, *ijd.*

Item, for nayles for the same pewes, and for the crosse in the chirchaw, *iiij^d.*

Item, for werkmanship and nayle for ij women pewes, *ijs. vjd.*

1474.

Item, payde for havyng away of the cherche dust wan the puyes wer mad elene, *iiij^d.*

Item, payde for tranlatyng of the meynes pue, *xs. vjd.*

Item, payde for making of the puyes in oure Lady Chapell, *xiijs.*

With this the accounts of the fifteenth century conclude; we go on to those beginning with the reign of Edward VI.

1548.

Item, payd to the joyner for takyng downe the shryvyng pew and making another pew in the same place, *ijs.*

1549.

Item, for mending the fore pewe by mystres Tollows, *ijs.*

Item, for mending the henges of mystres Bryggs pewe, *ijd.*

1550.

Item, for new joynts and ij cramps for Mr. Machyns pewe dore and Mr. Stanfylds mayds dore, *vij^d.*

Item, for a dore and henges to Mr. Hunts madys pewe dore, *vij^d.*

Item, for henges and nayles, and for mending of Mr. Ryxmans pewe dore, and Hattons wyves pewe, and the setts also, *xij^d.*

Item, p^d to Harry Cutler, for mending of the setts of iiij pews before Mrs. Hunts pewe, and for mending of the pulpet, and for boords, skykyngs, and nayles, to mend y^e churche alley gate, and for mending of y^e grate gate in y^e churche yarde, *vs. vjd.*

1551—1552.

Item, for nayles and sprygs to the setting up of the new pewe, *vjd.*

Item, for a skounsyn and a ledge, *jd.*

Item, for raysing of the benche in the foore pewe, and nayles and skonsyons, *ijd.*

Item, p^d to y^e goodman Cutlar for mending iiij pewes, *iiij^d.*

Item, to Garrad Symonds, joynor, for y^e ij newe pewes which were made at the dore with yere worke to the same, *xlvjs.*

1st for a q^r of borde for the pewes, xij*d*.

1st to a joyner for setting up of a pewe and for tymbber, iiij*s*.

1553—1554.

Item, paide for takinge downe the newe pewes that stooode in the chauncell, the bakes towarde the awlter, js. ij*d*.

1554 to 1555.

Gathered in the churche for the pewes for the hole yere, vi*lis*. vs. iiij*d*.

Paide and geven unto Roberte Dickenson in Harpe Alie when his wyfe was brought to bed of ij children by the consente of some of the masters of the parish, vs.

1555 to 1556.

Paide for wrytinge on the pewe dores at my lorde of Londons comandemente, xij*d*.

1563. *Orders at a vestry meeting on the 16th of May.*

Order for keeping their pewes on pain to forfeit ij*d*. the first tyme, and iiij*d*. the second.

Item, any man that on the hollie day kepeth not his owne pewe, but setteth the service time in other pewes, for the first time ij*d*., and the seconde time iiij*d*., to be employed to the poores boxe; provided any at the lessons and the sermons the more better to heare may remove.

We are thus arrived at the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth, and we find no further entries relating to pews till some years later; nor is it at all necessary to our subject to follow it to a later date.

ON SIGNACULA FOUND IN LONDON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT.

IT has long been my privilege to examine and describe every pilgrim's sign which has been laid before the Association, and I therefore feel in a position to affirm, with some degree of confidence, that the specimens which are now to engage our attention are of the highest interest. They are all of pewter, and were discovered in London within a year or so, and were doubtlessly brought hither by devotees who had visited the several shrines to which they appertain.

The first six signacula are the property of Mr. Cecil Brent, and we will begin with one relating to St. Oswald, King of Northumbria, who reigned from A.D. 635 to 642. The story of this good *Bretwalder's* piety and death is fully set forth by Bede (lib. iii and iv), from whom we learn that he fell in battle with Penda, King of Mercia, at a place called Maserfield, but whether this spot be now denominated Oswestry, in Salop, or Winwick, in Lancashire, is matter of dispute. But wherever Maserfield may have been situated, the blood of St. Oswald rendered its earth of potent value in the cure of many maladies, and as a protection against fire, as Bede relates (iii, 9, 10)—nay, the very dust and stones on which the water was cast in which his bones had been washed became invested with curative powers, as was manifested by many miracles wrought thereby. But to return to the battle-field, and gather a little of the doings there from William of Malmesbury (i, 3). Penda ordered the head, hands, and arms of Oswald to be cut off and set on stakes; but a year after, his successor, Oswy, coming into the locality with his army, caused the several parts to be taken down, burying the head in the church of Lindisfarne between the arms of St. Cuthbert, whence the prelate is frequently represented as holding it in his hand. Oswy interred the Royal hands and arms at Bamborough. The dismembered body of Oswald was entombed by his niece, Osthrida, Queen of Mercia, in the Monastery of Beardemen or Bardney in Lincolnshire; but in the year 910, the remains were

translated to St. Oswald's, Gloucestershire, by Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, and Elfleda, daughter of King Alfred. Fifty-seven churches in England are dedicated to St. Oswald, twenty of them being in his ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Now, as many of these churches probably possessed some sort of relic or holy image, or memento of the revered monarch to attract the devout, it is at once apparent how difficult it is to localise the *signum* found in London, though we may naturally turn to one of the several spots where the holy bones rested as the place from which it issued. This sign is of a round form, rather larger than the current shilling, and bears on a trellis field the crowned full-length effigy of the Royal Saint, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and an orb and cross in the right, from which appears to depend the chrismatory which was brought by a dove to supply the loss of the vessel taken at his coronation, and which was accompanied by a letter declaring that "*St. Peter himself has consecrated it.*" I do not think we can assign this *signum* to a later period than the thirteenth century. (See pl. 16, fig. 1).

The sign of another Royal saint next claims our notice—that of the Lady Osyth or Seytha, daughter of the Mercian Prince Frewald, and wife of Suthred, styled by some, King of East Anglia. I have already given a brief outline of the story, and made some allusion to representations of this fair martyr in my notes on the painted glass with the effigy of St. Osyth from old Chelsea Church, exhibited by Mr. H. H. Burnell,¹ and will only now add that this princess was born at Quarrendon, Bucks; that her husband, Suthred, gave her the manor of Chick, in Essex, where she founded a monastery, and presided over it as abbess until the Danes took her captive; and that after they had beheaded her, she, head in hand, walked three furlongs to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and there, falling down, ended the course of her martyrdom, A.D. 870. On the spot where she was decapitated, there presently sprung up a miraculous fountain of water, which proved a certain remedy for many diseases. On the seal of this princess's priory appears her effigy bearing her head under a canopy, with a sword on one side and a key on the other. The *signum* lately found represents the full-length image of the saint, crowned and nimbed,

¹ See *Journal*, xvi, 347.

holding a large key in her right hand and an open book in her left. It is the work of the fourteenth century. (See pl. 16, fig. 2).

In a curious inventory of the treasures formerly preserved at Canterbury, a goodly list is given of the relics of Thomas à Becket, and we are therein told that, "In a great round ivory coffer" were "*His gloves adorned with three orphreys*,"¹ i.e., three bands of golden embroidery, the word *orphreys* being from the Latin *aurifrigium*. Amid that extraordinary and valuable assembly of pewter signacula, produced by Mr. C. Brent on January 9, I detected a representation of a *glove*, which I then made no doubt was intended as a copy of one of the gloves of St. Thomas, just referred to; and Mr. Brent can now boast possession of a pair of these mimic gloves, with rich orphreys round the tops, jewels on their backs, and episcopal rings on the little fingers (see pl. 16, figs. 3, 4). All who take an interest in this curious class of religious baubles will rejoice at the important addition now made to the mementos of the Canterbury martyr.

We have next to speak of the little image of a chimera, which, had it been a biped instead of a quadruped, would be called a cockatrice, but which, under existing circumstances, must be designated a griffin or dragon. The creature has a bird's beak, crooked horns, goat's beard, slender lion-like body, long tufted tail, and wings as much like palm branches as feathers. This monster may represent the Prince of Darkness under one of his many forms, and accompanied an effigy of St. George, but, without further data, it would be unsafe to affirm that it did so. But of this we may be certain, that it is of a very *novel type*, superior workmanship, and of a date *not earlier* than the fifteenth century. (See pl. 16, fig. 5).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was much the fashion to cast pewter brooches in the form of letters, which have been conjectured to be the initials of saints. In our *Journal* (xix, 98) is a *signum* with large K in the centre of a nimbus, which I suggested related to the Royal martyr Kenelm, and in vol. xxi, 230, are described brooches representing the letters M, A, and P. The last item of Mr. Brent's present contribution is a portion of a rather peculiar shaped M (the wide upright bar and sinister stroke), which

¹ See Appendix to Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*.

may be the initial of Mary, or of one of the nearly three hundred other saints whose names begin with this letter. It is, however, well to record the existence of this bauble, which is clearly of late fifteenth century fabric, and was found, like all the rest of Mr. Brent's specimens here described, at Brook Wharf, Queenhithe. (See pl. 16, fig. 6).

We will now proceed to notice five *signacula* belonging to Mr. Gunston; foremost among which, for interest and beauty of workmanship, is a sign of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (See pl. 16, fig. 7).

Erasmus, in his *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, states, when speaking of Becket, that behind the high altar in the cathedral, "in a little chapel, is shown the *whole face* of the excellent man, gilt and adorned with many jewels." This was in all probability a portrait in relief, overlaid with metal, and set with precious stones, in the fashion of some of the Byzantine and Russo-Greek religious pictures, and I believe a representation of this splendid work is preserved to us in the seal of John Stratford, who presided over the See of Canterbury from A.D. 1333 to 1348, and of which I exhibit an impression in gutta percha. (See pl. 16, fig. 8). This seal is of considerable importance for comparison with the signum under review, as there can be little question that the device on the dexter side of the prelate and the *signum* were copied from the same archetype. This sign displays a highly-finished full-faced bust of the bold churchman, with the same cast of features and stern expression of countenance, so well exemplified in the portrait at Stoke Charity Church, Hants, given in this *Journal* (x, 74). The martyr wears a triangular mitre with pearled edge and jewelled *titulus* and *circulus*, and the "*tota facies*" is surrounded by an acute hexafoil frame, of the same character as the octafoil inclosing the visage on the seal of Archbishop Stratford. All that need be added respecting this beautiful *signum* is that it dates from the commencement of the fourteenth century, and was recovered from Thames mud in 1866.

It has been too much the custom among collectors of religious antiquities to attribute every sign of a mitred ecclesiastic found in London to St. Thomas à Becket, and to forget the fact that the metropolis had its own local attractions at St. Paul's Cathedral in the shrines of Bishops Melton, Erkenwald, Ingwald or Egwolph, Richard Fitz-Neile,



and Roger Niger; and also that a short pilgrimage out of town was frequently made to the holy image of St. Rumbold, Bishop of Dublin, at Boxley, in Kent. It may not be an easy task to appropriate to their proper places all the little signacula with mitred heads we meet with, but sure I am that many so-called St. Thomases have in truth no relation to the "blissful martyr". Among the unappropriated signs must be numbered the elegant example given in this *Journal* (xx, p. 81, fig. 2), and also the one now produced by Mr. Gunston, which was found in Thames mud in 1866. The mitre here is no longer of a triangular form as in the sign of St. Thomas above described, but it stretches out from the sides in the manner of the mitre to be seen on the effigy of Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester, who died in 1301, and lies buried in his own cathedral. The *titulus* and *circulus* are jewelled, as is likewise the *parura* of the *amice*. The features of the prelate differ from those displayed on undoubted signs of St. Thomas, and, moreover, there seems to be a very short beard, something like the beard shown in portraits of Richard II. (See pl. 16, fig. 9).

In our *Journal* (xix, 94), is engraved a very elaborate *signum* representing, a preacher in a pulpit, with a few letters beneath, some of which I conjectured to have stood for the words *Magister Johannes*, followed apparently by *scol*. Mr. Gunston exhibits a very similar sign found off Queenhithe in 1866, in which the details and lettering are more distinct, and which to my mind clears up all mystery attending the other specimen, the reading being plain enough *MA. IO. SCOL*, the elements, as I always suspected, of the words *Magister Johannes Schorn*, upon whom we have a paper, by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, at p. 256, *ante*. We have, therefore, before us the *signum* of Sir John Schorn, the famous rector of North Marston, Buckinghamshire, a visit to whose shrine in that parish was considered a certain cure for ague, for healing which malady it was also found to be of equal efficacy after its removal to Windsor by Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury. In Michael Wodde's *Dialogue*, 1554, we are told, "If we were sycke of the pestylence, we ran to Sainte Rooke; if of the ague, to Saint Pernel, or Master John Shorne." The *Palmer*, in John Haywood's play of *The Four Ps*, speaks of having made a pilgrimage to "*mayster Johan Shorne in Center-*

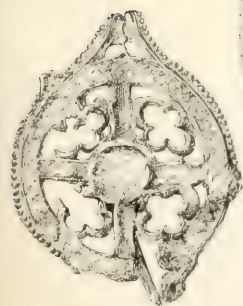
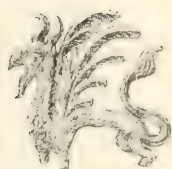
bury," but I do not exactly know how the remains of the rector of North Marston got from Windsor into Kent.

Mr. Brent has the body and pulpit of the preacher from a similar sign to the foregoing, and also a standing figure of Sir John Schorn, within a circular frame, and close by him is a great boot with the devil peering out of it; and it ought to be noted that a long toed boot stands by the side of the pulpit in Mr. Gunston's specimen.

At Boxley Abbey, where, as already stated, was to be seen the image of St. Rumbald, was shown a famous "*rood of grace*." At Bury St. Edmunds were "*peeses of the holie crosse able to make a hole crosse*."¹ In the *Declaration of Faith*, issued by Royal authority in 1539, wherein are enumerated some of the reputed relics found by the visitors, we are told that there was "more of the holy crosse than three waines may carry." Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimage to Walsingham*, makes *Ogygius* say that our Lord's cross "is shown privately and publicly in so many places, that, if the fragments were brought together, they would suffice to freight a merchant ship; and yet our Lord bore the whole of his cross." Such being the case, we cannot wonder that there are so many cruciferous signacula in existence; for, depend upon it, each relic had its special sign. The brooch now produced in all probability relates to the holy rood, for a cross forms the chief motive, surrounded by a nimbus, and having a quatrefoil between each limb, and a circlet in its centre, emblematical of the five wounds in the person of our blessed Saviour. This *signum* appears to be of late fourteenth century work, and was exhumed in Thames-street, 1867. (See pl. 16, fig. 10).

We now come to the last of Mr. Gunston's specimens—a brooch, displaying the device of a fleur-de-lys in the centre of a nimbus, the outer edge of which is pearly with twenty-three knobs. It is referable to the fifteenth century, and was exhumed in Thames-street, 1867. (See pl. 16, fig. 11). In our *Journal* (xix, 96, fig. 5), is engraved a brooch with the same subject, within a nimbus decorated with a twelve-rayed star, with a ring beneath, from which some object once depended. This example is of the fourteenth century. Other instances of signacula in which the fleur-de-lys is the

¹ See Wright's *Letters on Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 85, printed for the Camden Society.





motive might be cited, but unfortunately unaccompanied by any attribute which would settle the question whether such signs relate to St. Louis of France or to the Virgin Mary, to each of whom the lily is equally appropriate.

Such are the few interesting additions made to the store of signacula which already enrich the volumes of our *Journal*. They appear to extend in date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and are, one and all, good specimens of the religious badges sold at the various shrines to which the faithful and the faithless alike flocked in crowds from all corners of Christendom during the middle ages, and of whom it has happily been said by Southey,—

“Some went for payment of a vow,
In time of trouble made;
And some who found that pilgrimage
Was a pleasant sort of trade.”

ON MAYFIELD, IN SUSSEX.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., HON. SEC.

No place of equal importance in mediæval times is, so far as I am aware, involved in more obscurity than Mayfield. The name itself is not met with until the twelfth century, between which period and the close of the thirteenth it occurs once only, after which it suddenly becomes frequently mentioned.

St. Dunstan is said to have built a wooden church and residence here in the tenth century, as he had in other places, but only one writer, Eadmer, states this as a fact upwards of a century and a half after the event is said to have occurred,¹ and we must hesitate before accepting every statement of writers like Eadmer, who mingle tales of miracles with the doubtful as well as with the authenticated facts of traditional history. Some relics attributed to St. Dun-

¹ St. Dunstan was archbishop, 959-988. Eadmer probably wrote his life about 1120. He says: “Idem pater à Cantuariâ in remotiores villas suas opportunis spatiis hospitia sua disponens apud Magaveldam, sicut et in aliis hospitiorum suorum locis, ligneam ecclesiam fabricavit.” (Wharton, *Angl. Sac.*, ii, 217.)

stan are of the sixteenth century,¹ and the earliest part of the church is of the thirteenth. We must take it for granted, however, that in Eadmer's time certain buildings had existed beyond the memory of himself and his contemporaries.

The manor of Maghfield has not yet been discovered to have had a separate existence until long after the date of *Domesday Book*, in which the name does not seem to occur, nor has it been identified. Indeed, the whole of the Sussex portion of that record is confused and wanting in preciseness. It is believed to have then belonged to the Archbishops of Canterbury, but the statement of the lands held by and under them is considerably less than that which the then Primate Lanfranc must have owned if he had the extent of land now attributed to him.

Taking the received and best accounts, and adopting a somewhat chronological order, the manor of MELLINGES, now MALLING, must be first dealt with. This manor, which is supposed to have extended from Lewes to Lamberhurst, belonged to the Kings of Wessex. King Egbert and his son Ethelwolf, at some time between 823 and 836, gave it to the Church of Christ Church, Canterbury. This grant, being confirmed by the Council of Magnates, held at Kingston-on-Thames in 838, then took effect, a previous grant by King Baldred, which had not been so confirmed, being, in consequence, not recognised as legal.

Some part of this manor was held by the Benedictine canons of Malling; that house, having been probably founded by Coedwalla, King of Wessex, in the seventh century,² had, at some time, and continued to have, a clerical interest in Mayfield until the dissolution, the monks having had the patronage of the vicarage, and latterly holding it as a prebend.

In order to place this question in completeness before the reader, it is necessary to extract the whole of the *Domesday* survey of the lands subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in Sussex. I have collated the following with the original, by which it will be seen that neither Hundred nor Manor can be pointed to as certainly including the subject under enquiry.

¹ The tongs, hammer, anvil, and mortar, have long been pronounced fictitious. The *mortar* is said to be a mill for pepper. These will be again mentioned.

² Leland. *Coll.* i. 86.

"TERRA ARCHIEP'I. IN MELLINGES HUND"—Archieps Lanfranc' ten' M' Mellinges & est in Rap' de Peneusel & T. R. E. defd se p qⁱ xx hid'.

Sed m^o n̄ h̄ archieps' nisi lxxv hidas quia comes moritonij h̄ v hid' ext' hund. T̄ra' toti' M' l. car'. In d'ño sunt v car' & cc^{ti} & xix uiffi cū xxxv bord h̄nt' lxxiii car' & xliii croft'.

Ibi v molini de iiii lib' et x solid' & ii mit anguit. Ibi cc ac pti' v min' & silua ccc porc' de pasnag'. De herbagio xxxviii soł & vi den' & ccclv porc' herbag' T. R. E. ualeb' xl lib'. Q' do recep' xxx lib'. Modo lxx lib'. Hoc M' tenuit Godefrid' ad firmā p xc lib'.

De isto M' ten' Bainiard de Archiepo v hid' & ibi h̄ in d'ño ii car' & xiiii uiffi cū ii bord' h̄nt ii car'. Ibi xxxv ac pti & de herbagio iii porc'. Vaf viii lib'.

De eod' M' ten' fili' Boselin de Archiepo ii hid' & ibi h̄ in d'ño i car' & xi uiffi cū ii bord' h̄nt iii car'. Ibi ii molini de x solid' & de herbagio ii porc' & de silua xx^{ti} porc' de pasnagio. Vaf lx soł.

De ipso M' ten' Godefrid' i hid' de Archiepo & ibi h̄ ii car' in d'ño & ii uiffi cū iii bord' & un' molin' de v solid'.

Silua i porc' de pasnagio. Vaf l. soł.

De eod' M' ten' Walter' de archiepo ii part' dimid' hid' & ibi h̄ ii car' in d'ño & i uiff & i bord' cū i car' & iii ac' pti & silua iii porc' de pasnagio & un' porc' de herbagio. Vaf xl soł.

De ipso adhuc M' ten' canonici S. Michael iiii hid' & ibi ē in d'ño una car' & iiii uiffi cū xvi bord' h̄nt ii car' & uaf iii lib'.

Wiffi de cahainges ten' unā uirgā de isto M' & est ad Alsi-horne.

IN ESTREV HUND'.—Ipse archieps ten' ODINTVNE de uestitu monachor'. T. R. E. se defd p vi hid' & m^o p iiii hid' & dimidia. q^{ia} aliud ē in rapo comit' de morit'. T̄ra ē v car'. In d'ño sunt ii car' & x uiffi cū iiii bord' h̄nt iii car'. Ibi un' molin' de xxxix den' & xxii ac' pti & silua de ii porc'.

T. R. E. ualeb' iiii lib' & post xl sol'. Modo iiii lib'. Oli' reddid' vi lib' sed pdurare n̄ potuit.

IN FALEMERE H'D.—Canonici de Mellinges ten' de archiepo STAMERE. T. R. E. & m^o p xx hid' se defd. T̄ra ē xx car'. In d'ño sunt iiii car' et xlix uiffi cū x bord' h̄nt xxvi car'. Silua de vi porc'. T. R. E. & post & m^o uaf xv lib'.

Huic M' adjacent vii hagæ in LEWES reddtes xxi denar' p annū.

Ipse archieps h̄ in LEWES xxi hag' reddentes viii sol' & viii den' p annū & ptin' ad Mellinges M'.

IN PAGEHA' HUND'.—Ipse archieps ten' PAGEHAM in d'ño. T. R. E. se defd p l. hid' & m^o p xxxiiii. T̄ra ē xxx car'. In d'ño sunt vii car' & lxxiiii viffi cū qⁱ xx^{ti} bord' ii min' h̄nt xxiii car'. Ibi un' molin' de x solid' & qⁱ xx^{ti} ac' pti & parua silua ad clausurā similit' p tot' Sudsex. De herbagio un' porc' de unoq^q uiffi qui h̄ vii porcos. T. R. E. & post ualuit xl lib'. Modo lx

lib' & tam redd' q^t xx^{ti} lib' sed nimis graue ē. Ibi æccta ē & una æccta in Cicestre, redd' lxiiii den'.

De hoc M' ten' Oismelin unā hid' de archiepo. Ibi hē ii bord'^{os}.

Ipsē archieps ten' in dñio TANGEMERE.

Clerici tenuer' de archiepo T. R. E. defd se p x hid' & m^o p vi hid'. T'ra ē.—In dñio sunt ii car' & xv uiffi cū xv bord' hnt iii car'. Ibi æccta. T. R. E. ualeb' vi lib' & post c solid'. Modo vi lib' & pposit' M' hē inde xx^{ti} sol'.

Ad hoc M' ptin' iiii hagæ in Cicestre redd' xxii den'.

IN SILLENTONE H'D.—Ipsē archieps ten' LOVENTONE in dñio. T. R. E. defd se p xviii hid' modo p ix hid' & dimid'. T'ra ē.—In dñio sunt iii car' & xiiii uiffi cū vii bord' hnt iiii car'. Ibi un' molin' de vi solid' & xxvi æc pti.

T. R. E. & post ualuit xii lib'. Modo xv lib'. De hoc M' ten' Radulf' iii hid' de archiepo et ibi ij' uiffs cū iii bord' hnt i car'. Val' iii lib'.

IN RIEBERGE HUND'.—Ipsē Archieps ten' PETCHINGES de uestitu monachoz fuit sep. T. R. E. se defd p xii hid' & m^o p iii hid' & iii uirg' & dimid' t'ra ē ix car'. In dñio sunt ii car' & xxii uiffi cū xxi bord' hnt vi car'. Ibi æccta.

Silua iiii porc' T. R. E. ualeb' xii lib' & post x lib'. Modo xv lib'. Dudū fuit ad xx^{ti} lib' sed n̄ potuit pati.

IN BRADFOTA H'D.—Ipsē archieps ten' TERRINGES q'd s'ep fuit in monasterio T. R. E. defd se p xviii hid' & m^o p vii hid' & una uirg'. T'ra ē xiiii car' et dimid'. In dñio sunt iii car' & xxvii uiffi cū xiiii bord' hnt x car'. Ibi ii æcctæ & silua de vi porc'.

T. R. E. ualeb' xiiii lib' & iiii sof & post x lib'. Modo xv lib'.

De hoc M' ten' Wiffs de braiose iiii hid' et ibi h't in d'nio i car' & iiii uiffi cū v bord' hnt i car' & dim'. Ibi v æc pti. De silua x denar' de pasnag' xx solid' & ii porc'. Val' lxx solid'."

For the sake of more easy reference, I subjoin a translation of the foregoing extracts.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LAND.—In MALLING HUNDRED, Archbishop Lanfranc holds the manor of Malling, in the Rape of Pevensy. In the time of King Edward it answered for four-score hides. But now the archbishop has but seventy-five hides, the Earls of Morton having five hides outside the hundred. The whole of the manor is fifty carucates. In the demesne are five ploughs and two hundred and nineteen villeins, with thirty-five bordars, having seventy-three ploughs and forty-three crofts.

There are five mills of £4 10s., and two thousand eels; also, one hundred and ninety-five acres of meadow and wood for the pannage of three hundred swine; of herbage 38s. 6d. and herbage for three hundred and fifty-five swine.

In King Edward's time £40 was the value, the receipts £30, but now £70. This manor was held by Godfrid on farm at £90. Of the same manor, Bainsiard holds five hides of the archbishop,

and has in the demesne two ploughs and fourteen villeins, with two bordars having two ploughs.

There are thirty-five acres of meadow and herbage for three swine. Value £8.

Of the same manor, the son of Boselin holds of the archbishop two hides, and has there in demesne one plough and eleven villeins, with two bordars having three ploughs. There are two mills of 10s., and herbage for two swine, and from the wood pannage for twenty swine. Value 60s.

Of this manor, Godfrid holds one hide of the archbishop, and has there two ploughs in demesne, and two villeins, with three bordars, and one mill of 5s. Wood for pannage of one hog. Value 50s.

Of the same manor, Walter holds of the archbishop two parts of a half hide, and has there two ploughs in demesne, and one villein, and one bordar with one plough and three acres of meadow and wood for pannage of three hogs, and herbage for one hog. Value 40s.

Of this manor, the canons of St. Michael yet hold four hides, and there is in demesne one plough and four villeins, with sixteen bordars having two ploughs. Value £3.

William de Cahainges holds one virgate of this manor, and it is at Alsihorne.

In ESTREV HUNDRED, the archbishop holds Odinton for the clothing of the monks. In King Edward's time it answered for six hides, and now for four and a half, the other being in the Earl of Morton's Rape. There is land for five ploughs. In the demesne are two ploughs and ten villeins, with four bordars having three ploughs. There is a mill of 39*d.*, twenty-two acres of meadow, and wood for two hogs. In King Edward's time the value was £4, and afterwards 40s., now £4. Formerly it produced £6, but it could not continue doing so.

In FALEMERE HUND, the canons of Malling hold Stanmere of the archbishop. In King Edward's time it answered for twenty hides as it does now. There is land for twenty ploughs. In demesne there are four ploughs and forty-nine villeins, with ten bordars having twenty-six ploughs, and wood for six hogs. In King Edward's time and after and now the value is £15.

Adjacent to this manor are seven hays (plots of enclosed land) in LEWES, producing 21*d.* per annum.

The archbishop has in LEWES twenty-one hays, producing 8s. 8*d.* per ann., and pertaining to Malling Manor.

In PAGEHAM HUNDRED, the archbishop holds Pageham in demesne. In the time of King Edward it answered for fifty hides, and now for thirty-four. There is land for thirty ploughs. In demesne are seven ploughs and seventy-four villeins, with seventy-eight bordars having twenty-three ploughs. Here is a mill of 10s., and eighty acres of meadow, and a small wood, enclosed like they are throughout Sussex. Herbage for one hog, for every villein who

has seven hogs. In the time of King Edward, and after, the value was £40, now £60, and it yet yields a rent of £80, which, however, is far too heavy. Here is a church, and a church in Chichester, producing 64*d*.

Of this manor, Oismelin holds one hide of the archbishop. He has there two bordars.

The archbishop himself holds in demesne TANGEMERE. The clergy held it of the archbishop. In the time of King Edward it answered for ten hides, and now for six hides. The land is ——. In demesne are two ploughs and fifteen villeins, with fifteen bordars having four ploughs. There is a church. In King Edward's time its value was £6, and afterwards 100*s*., now £6. The bailiff of the manor has thereof 20*s*.

Belonging to this manor are four hays in Chichester, producing 22*d*.

In SILLENTON HUNDRED, the archbishop himself holds in demesne LOVENTON. In the time of King Edward it answered for eighteen hides, now for nine hides and a half. The land is ——. In demesne are three ploughs and fourteen villeins, with eight bordars having four ploughs. Here is a mill of 6*s*., and twenty-six acres of meadow.

In the time of King Edward, and after, its value was £12, now £15. Of this manor, Ralph holds three hides of the archbishop, and there is one villein, with three bordars having one plough. Value £3.

In RIEBERG HUNDRED, the archbishop himself holds PETCHINGS. It has always been for the clothing of the monks. In King Edward's time it answered for twelve hides, and now for three hides, and three virgates and a half. There is land for nine ploughs. In demesne there are two ploughs and twenty-two villeins, with twenty-one bordars having six ploughs. There is a church. Wood for four hogs. In King Edward's time the value was £12, and afterwards £10, now £15. Long since it was £20, but it was not able to bear it.

In BRADFORD HUNDRED, the archbishop himself holds TARRING, which always pertained to the monastery. In King Edward's time it answered for eighteen hides, and now for seven hides and one virgate. There is land for fourteen ploughs and a half. In demesne are three ploughs and twenty-seven villeins, with thirteen bordars having ten ploughs. There are two churches, and wood for six hogs. In King Edward's time the value was £14 4*s*., and afterwards £10, now £15.

Of this manor, William de Braiose has four hides, and has here in demesne one plough and four villeins, with five bordars having one plough and a half. Here are five acres of meadow; of wood 10*d*.; of pannage 20*s*. and two hogs. Value 70*s*.

Nothing, therefore, being known with certainty about Mayfield prior to the compilation of *Domesday Book*, we

must commence our notices with the earliest authentic record which has been found and identified with the town. This is a charter for a fair and market, obtained from Henry the Third in 1260 by the then Archbishop, Boniface,¹ wherein the name is spelt *Magefeud*. At that time, and probably long before, there was a church with an archiepiscopal residence and a park, and though the prelates frequently resided in it, still it could not have been of any great antiquity or much importance.

The manor of Malling, though not appearing to be described of such vast dimensions in *Domesday Book*, is stated to have comprised the whole of the Hundreds of Malling, Loxfield Dorset, and Loxfield Camden,² extending from near Lewes to the borders of the county at Lamberhurst, part of which is included. The length is as nearly as possible twenty-four miles, and the average width of rather more than three miles, pear-shaped in plan, and containing about eighty thousand acres. It has not been ascertained when the subdivisions became so distinct as to cease, except in name and legal documents, to belong to Malling: but early in the thirteenth century there were three (if not more) beadleries: these were—1, Mayfield; 2, Framfield; 3, Ringmer; the first of which, the northernmost, is the one with which we are at present concerned. This beadlery consisted of the parishes of Mayfield, Wadhurst, and part of Lamberhurst, and now forms the modern manor of Mayfield.

The Hundred of Loxfield³ in its integrity comprised the above-named parishes and those of Isfield, Uckfield, and Buxted. At the Reformation it was divided into two, the southern, including these last-named parishes, and called Loxfield Dorset, the northern being called Loxfield Neville;

¹ Rot. Cart., 45 Hen. III, part 1. See Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops* for the character of Boniface, vol. ii.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, v, 128, probably quoting the MS. in College of Arms, W. C. 22.

³ It was in 2 Edw. I (11 Oct. 1274), that the name of Lokkesfeld, or Lowesfeud, first occurs. (See preface to *Hundred Rolls*, Record Commission.) Then a commission was appointed, and it is recited that Earl Warren had usurped the right of free warren over the fee of the Archbishop at Lindfield, and at Woletun; that Walter Burdon had made innovations upon the archiepiscopal possessions of Mayfield, and still remained in trespass; that Ric. de Pevensey (who was sheriff of Sussex, 14 and 15 Edw. I), took the measures from Wadhurst, Lamberhurst, and Mayfield, Uckfield, and Tarring, and partly burnt them, and partly carried them away, without the king's authority, and extorted fines.

these names changing with the owners, and it has consequently been called Loxfield Neville, Loxfield May, Loxfield Baker, Loxfield Pelham, and, lastly, Loxfield Camden, which it still bears. Whether this was included or not, it is believed that at the time of the grant to Canterbury, in the ninth century, nearly the whole of Loxfield was forest, taking its name of ANDREDSWALD probably from ANDERIDA. In course of time (centuries perhaps) villages became formed under the fostering care of the primates,¹ and this town thus had its origin. The iron-works of the county (and there was a foundry at Mayfield) were dependent upon the wood cut from this forest for smelting, and it is not unlikely that the double process of clearing the forest and manufacturing the metal tended both to the enlargement of spaces for residences and the prosperity and increase of the inhabitants; and when in course of time the woods became exhausted, the manufacture entirely ceased, the mineral coal eventually enabling the mid and north county manufacturers to produce iron at so much cheaper a rate as to supersede the Sussex foundries, although one or two of them existed up to within the last half century. The villages or towns were probably not more than in embryo prior to the dates at which the respective fairs were granted, and the date (45 Hen. III), as regards Mayfield, corresponds very nearly with the appearance of the earlier remains of the church and palace, allowing time for their completion, before which the fairs could hardly even be thought of, much less applied for. On the subject, however, of the identity of Mayfield, I have, before I proceed further, a suggestion to offer, which I may hereafter follow out, and, if my surmises are correct, it will clear up much of the mystery.

In the first place, it is more than possible that Mayfield may be found in *Domesday* under another name, and perhaps in a different hundred from that hitherto stated by its historians. Either FRAMELLE, which was held by Earls Morton and Ew at Domesday-time, and is now Loxfield Dorset, included both the present moieties of Loxfield; or MESEWELLE² may have been Mayfield, although then in the

¹ MS., Coll. Arms, W. C., 22, fo. 11.

² It will have to be remembered that Eadmer, who wrote in the twelfth century, calls it Magavelda.

Hundred of Rotherfield, to which it is adjacent.¹ *Mesevelle* was held by King William, and no identification of that manor has yet been made. The name would naturally become *Maghfeld*, even if it was not then so in the vulgar tongue: Rotherfield, and many other places now having that termination, being spelt in *Domesday* either with the ending *welle*, *jelle*, or *feld*, and sometimes both *welle* and *jelle*. If *Mesevelle* be not Mayfield its locality will be difficult to ascertain, as no place within many miles approaches it, in the slightest degree, in sound.

The *beadleries* of the subsequent manor of Malling may have been formed out of the previous *manors* on becoming subject to the archbishop, and it seems to me that former writers have jumped to the conclusion that because these beadleries were in existence latterly as acknowledged portions of the manor of Malling they had always been so. In order to show that this could not have been the case, it is only necessary to refer to the *Framelle*, or *Francwelle*, (now Framfield) of *Domesday Book*, which, by the way, is another instance of the interchangeability of *elle* and *feld*, and was the name of a manor, and also of a hundred, which hundred is now Loxfield Dorset,² one of the portions or beadleries of Malling.

I cannot believe that Mayfield has been altogether omitted from *Domesday*, nor can I suppose that it was included in the original manor of Malling.³

The following is the entry in *Domesday Book* in reference to Rotherfield and Framfield:—

IN REREDFELLE HUND'.—Rex W. ten' in d'nio REREDFELLE de feudo epi Baioc'. Goduin' com̃ tenuit & tē & mō se defd' p iii hid'. T'ra ē xxvi car'. In d'nio sunt iiii car' & xiiii uiffi cū vi bord h'nt xiiii car'. Ibi iiii serui & silua de qt' xx^{ti} pore' de pasnag'. Parcus ē ibi. T. R. E. ualeb' xvi lib' & post xiiii lib'. Modo xii lib' & tām redd' xxx lib'.

Ipsē com̃ [COMES MORITONIENSIS] ten' ii hid' q^s tenuer' de rege E. Aluuard & Vluuard p ii' m^{ris}. T'ra ē vi car'. De hac t'ra ten'

¹ A comparison of old maps will shew how considerably the boundaries of the hundred have been altered.

² Mr. Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, iv, p. 292.

³ Mr. Courthope, late Rouge Croix, came to the conclusion that the forest of Andredswold belonged to the archbishop (*temp.* Will. I.), but was so valueless as not to be worth naming. (MS., Coll. of Arms, W. C., 22, fo. xi.) I am unable to accede to that proposition. The woods, in *Domesday*, are enough for six hundred and fifty-five swine.

Ansfrid' i hid de coñ Hunfrid' unā v' Wiffts una V'. & uñ ferdine' & qīdam anglic' una' V'. In d'nio sunt iiii car' & dim' & vi uiffi & viii bord' cū vi car'. Ibi uñ scrū & i molin' de xxx den'. T. R. E. ualb' xxx sol'. Modo lxxiii sol'.

Iipse com' ten' MESEWELLE. Goduin' tenuit. Tē & mo' p iiii hid'. Tīa ē ii car' & ibi sunt cū iiii uiffis & v. bord' In d'nio ē una car'. De silua xxx pore'. T. R. E. ualb' iiii lib'. Modo xl solid'. De hac tīa ten' Wifft de Warencse iii uirg' tře & un' molin'.

Whether the manors were, in later times, several or one sub-divided, it seems certain that over the whole of the large territory named, comprising nearly 80,000 acres, the archbishops, in and after the thirteenth century, ruled almost absolutely; and, admitting of no interference, all the clerical parishes became peculiars, and were so returned by the Bishop of Chichester in answer to the inquiry of the Record Commissioners. It will be seen that they are all within this tripartite manor, and they consist of the following places, viz., South Malling, Ringmer, Horsted, Framfield, Uckfield, Buxted, Mayfield, and Wadhurst.

As regards the manor, this hundred, or half hundred as it is sometimes called, contains about 24,400 acres, and nearly coincides with the manor. Whether or not it were part of the said manor of Melling, Mr. Courthope thought that it belonged to the archbishops, for, on the conquest, William the Earl of Eu (who had obtained the whole Hastings Rape) sought more power, and encroached on the property of the archbishops, and the result was that the manor of Bibleham, which had formerly been within the Rape of Pevensay, and was part of the parishes of Mayfield and Wadhurst, was cut off, and, at the time of Domesday, was reckoned in the Rape of Hastings.²

When, however, we reach the time of the Edwards, we meet with the modern name of the hundred, as *Lokkesfeld*, otherwise *Lowesfeud*,³ and *Maghfeud* was then stated to be the property of the archbishops.

Perhaps it was nearly half a century previously that the hundred had been divided into the three beadleries, and Mayfield Manor was known as the Beadlery of Mayfield,

¹ Record Commission, *Valor Eccles*, i, 459.

² Coll. Arms, W. C., 22, fo. 6, and Map, fo. 1. In *Domesday* there are several entries of encroachments by Earls Morton and Ow.

³ 2 Edw. I. Pref. *Hundred Rolls* by Record Commission and Lambeth Court Rolls, 8, Hen. VII.

and was so styled until the Reformation, when it was treated as a separate manor.¹

One of the customs of the manor (there is a copy of the custumal of "Southmalling, otherwise Maighefeld", in the Burrell collection, add. MSS. 5701, fo. 167) was that of Borough English, or the descent, under certain circumstances, to the youngest son. The nineteenth regulation provides that, "If any man or woman be first admitted tenant of any of the assarte land, and die seized of assart or bond-lands, the eldest son or heir is to be admitted: or if there be *no* son (*sic*); or a daughter and son (*sic*) the youngest son is to take. If there be *no* son then the youngest daughter succeeds."

The thirty-third provides for the wife holding bond-lands during her widowhood, and then to the heir after the custom.

The thirty-fourth, for the wife taking one-third of assarte during her life, and then to the heir.

There are many account rolls of the beadlery in the Lambeth Library, which I have examined and hope to give *literatim* at some future time (the library being now closed), but the earliest is dated 1411-12, so that no information of the antiquity of the place can be drawn from them,² and we are reduced at present to take the more modern writings for our guides. The volumes of the Sussex Archaeological Society contain almost the whole of the references to known materials.³ The most recent, however of these writings was published upwards of fifteen years ago, and other sources of information have been since found. Moreover, the architectural portion of the subject has been dealt with by one writer only, each succeeding writer copying that account *verbatim*. There are various points, both as regards the palace and the other buildings, which have not been cleared up, which I am able to throw light upon; and a complete examination of the remains gives me the opportunity of correcting some previous errors.

¹ Mr. Cooper states that there is a considerable manor mentioned among the early endowments of Michelham Priory, which was severed from the rest not long after the dissolution, namely Isenhurst, given by Burton and wife to the Priory. This manor was anciently the property of the archbishops, and was part of Mayfield and Waldron. (S. A. C., vi, 162.)

² The South Malling Rolls commence at the same date.

³ See all the volumes, but especially vols. ii and v.

There are but a few published drawings,¹ and no detailed notices of the palatial remains, except such as are incidental to other subjects, and the Sussex Society has not yet made a visit to the spot. It was in this state of circumstances I undertook an investigation, and made accurate plans of the palace under the most favourable conditions, having obtained permission, which I availed myself of, to open places which had been walled up or partitioned off, without any entrances being left, for more than a century, and had consequently been entirely forgotten.

The parish is the largest in the Hundred, containing 13,570 acres, being nearly five miles in diameter. In the Hayley collections for Sussex² the name is stated to be derived from MAG, a plain, and FELD, a field. Now, the manor of Mayfield is altogether hilly, and the town does not stand in a plain, but on a considerable height, as do all, or most, of the early towns and villages in Sussex, and on which subject I suggested an inquiry should be set on foot by the Sussex Archaeological Society, and I demur to the etymology suggested in this MS. The syllable *field* is as frequently written *welle*, *feld*, *feud*, and *veldum*. The first syllable is written variously, as *mag*, *maigh*, *magh*, *meg*, *megh*, *magt*, and perhaps *mese*, and, in Hen. VI *maugh*,³ and Eliz. *maygh*. If the basis of the word is *may*, the fertility of the neighbourhood, still remarkable in wild flowers of exceptional beauty, may have suggested its name. Mesewelle would not be incompatible with this view. The orthography and pronunciation correspond in principle with *Bayham*, adjacent, formerly spelt *Begham*, and which name is likewise omitted from *Domesday Book*.⁴

It is said, on what authority I know not, that Saint Dunstan made Mayfield parochial.⁵ The present church is, it is true, dedicated to him, but during his life-time it could not have been so dedicated, nor could the residence have been called *Saint Dunstan's*, as his day was not made a

¹ In the College of Arms is the most complete set of drawings and manuscript records that I have met with, W. C., Nos. 22-25; and to Mr. Planché, Somerset Herald, I am much indebted for being enabled thoroughly to examine them.

² Add. MSS., Mus. Brit., No. 6344, col. 534.

³ Lambeth Rolls, 2, Hen. VI, No. 3.

⁴ See *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, xi, 121, as to Bayham deriving its name from Beau-lieu or Bell's Yew.

⁵ *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, ii, 222.

feast until 1021,¹ yet it seems reasonable to trust to tradition so far as to believe that by the eleventh century there was both a manor house and church so named and dedicated.²

Before proceeding to the subject of the buildings, it may be well to refer to all that was appertaining to them at the time of the disposal of the manor, when Cranmer surrendered it. In 36 Henry VIII, when an account was rendered to the king, William Pinkherst was deputy bedell, and he returned the rent of his office at £79 19s. 6½*d.*; arrears of rent, £4; of Thomas Carrell for woods sold, £2 0s. 8*d.* The rectory was farmed by the same Pinkherst at a rental of £15. The park brought £3 6s. 8*d.* from William Rysel, farmer. The ironworks of Sussex yielded an income to the archbishops, who had furnaces on their Mayfield estate, which doubtless furnished the relics said to be Saint Dunstan's, which are figured in the Sussex archaeological collection (ii, pp. 179, 214; the tongs are not drawn accurately, the bend in the leg being inwards instead of downwards), but there are no references to this income in any papers to which I have had access. The several "compotus" at Lambeth contain nearly similar returns.

In the following year the manor was returned as consisting of 200 acres of demesne, 4,000 of land, 2,200 of pasture, 1,000 of wood, and 2,000 of heath; the rent £30; 9,400 acres in all—not, it will be observed, equal to the present parish.

On the 12th November, 1545, Cranmer surrendered it, describing it as "the manor of Mayfield, in the Bailiwick and Bedelry of South Malling, and all my park of Mayfield, &c.," the rectories of Mayfield and Wadhurst, &c., and churches, patronages, &c.

On the 5th January, 1546, it was granted to Sir Edward North, chancellor of the Augmentation Office, and Alice, his wife, including the rectories, &c. In May, 1597, it was sold to Thomas May;³ thence it passed to his son, and was

¹ Butler, i, 619. A double feast was accorded to his day in 1413. Foxe, iii, 319.

² The title of "Palace" has only been recently applied to it. Up to at least the sale to NEVILLE'S, it was called "the chief manor house," perhaps to distinguish it from the other manor houses on the other of the three hundred acres.

³ This was the father of the poet and historian of the Long Parliament. His son is said to have been born in the Palace in 1595; if so, Mr. May must

bought by Sir Thomas Gresham, who considerably altered the manor house, and resided in it; from him it descended through his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, to Sir Henry Neville, who sold it to John Baker; the patronage became then separated, but was again united, the manor afterwards descending to Henry Cressett Pelham, and then to John Jeffries Pratt, afterwards Marquis Camden, in whom it remains;¹ the patronage having been again divided, and, by marriage, now in the hands of the incumbent, the Rev. Henry J. Murdock Kirby, in whose family it has been for some generations. It was at one time seized by the King (in 1605), and passed afterwards through Luck, the vicar.

The park was purchased in 1858 by Francis Cordrey, who sold it in 1863 to the Duchess of Leeds. The present owners were presented with it by the Duchess, and have converted it to the purpose of education. I cannot sufficiently thank those who now have charge of the palace for their extreme kindness in allowing my researches and studies, when, without any impropriety, they might so easily have refused. Instead, however, of preventing archaeological inquiry, they not only gave permission for searches, but evinced so marked an interest in my investigations and discoveries, and so reverential a care of the genuine part of the ruins, that no fear need be entertained of any destruction being imminent. The part which has been restored, the hall, has had, too, the advantage of the personal care of Mr. E. W. Pugin, and the unquestionable judgment he has displayed in leaving the walls with their original plastering, and in the spare introduction of restorations, commands our thanks, and only makes us wish that other restorers would be equally careful to preserve the means of study, instead of so utterly destroying them as they do, while, at the same time, lessening the beauty of the buildings they attack.

I regret that in continuing the intended works, it has been in contemplation to pull down all the buildings, except the

have resided in it before his purchase, or the date given of the birth may be an error. The Lambeth Rolls show that some of the ancestors of May were holders of this manor in the fifteenth century (1, Hen. VII, No. 8 and 9, Hen. VII). In 1535 a Tho. May is returned as a farmer at Wadhurst (*ib.* 25, Hen. VIII).

I must take the opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Marquess Camden for courteously forwarding some documents for my inspection.

hall, and to erect new ones. This seems to me so undesirable, and the fabric itself is so substantial, except in one part, as to make it unnecessary on the score of strength, that I venture to express a hope, in the interest of art, that when the time comes for increasing the accommodation the present buildings will be utilised without material alteration.

Amongst persons who had interests in the parish who have not been mentioned in previous publications are Edmund de Passelee, who had granted to him the right of free warren here and other places.¹

The *Novus prioratus de Hasting* had land in the occupation of one Richard Mewpam at a rent of 46s. 8d.²

The entries about Walter Burton and Richard Pevensy are as follow:—

“Dicūt qd’ Walter’ Burdon de Rapo de Hasting’ de Hundro de Hanesberg’ fec’ p’prestur’ sup’ foedū ecēie Xpi’ Cant’ apud Magheud t’pe R. H. longe tiū qarentenar’ & amp’ & illam p’prestur’ adhuc tenet.”³

“Ric’ de Pevens’ p’potestate’ suam misit Egid de Hydenye & Johem de Kent s’vientes suos ap’ Wadeh’st Magheud (and other places), qui ibidem cepūt bussell galon’ & oīmod alias mensur’, (etc., etc.), & hoc fe’cūt sine standardo dni’ R et g’avit’ tenentes de p’dcis vill’ extors’ magnam sūmam quorum noīa continent’ in inquis’ sic’ patet ibidem.”⁴

John Waleys died in 1418 holding “Hawkesden maner’ in parochia de Meghefeld ut de honor de Richmond,” Sussex.⁵ It is important to notice in this that other manors existed in the parish.

Michilham Priory’s mill in the thirteenth century produced £2 13s. 4d. per annum, besides the holdings called Isenhurst, with messuage and woods.⁶

Richard de Twynerton (or Twiverton as it is spelt in another document), parson of the church at Cherrynge, gave to the archbishop a mill and some land in Maghefeld.⁷

As regards the town little need be said. The Archbishop Boniface (who held the see from 1244 to 1262) obtained a charter for a market and fair (45 Henry III).⁸ Sussex.—“B. Cantuar’ Archiepus Magefeud maner’ mercat’ et feria’ ibī.”

¹ Rot. Cart., 10 Edw. III, fo. 150.

² Valor Eccles., Hen. VIII, fo. 354.

³ Rot. Hund., Ed. I, fo. 207.

⁴ Rot. Hund., Edw. I, p. 219.

⁵ Inquis. post Mort., 6 Hen. V.

⁶ Rot. Pat., 13 Hen. III, m. 7, et alia.

⁷ Inquis. q. damnum, 17 Ed. III, p. 311.

⁸ Rot. Cart., part i. See also 8 Edw. II, where the town only is named.

It is remarkable that the town seems even now insignificant and the *manor* named. Another fair was granted by Richard II in his seventeenth year to "W. Cantuar." (William Courtenay) he having previously confirmed the former grant of a fair and market.¹ The market, which was for corn and seed, has been disused for a long period,² the market-day having been changed by charter from Thursday to Tuesday, and then to Wednesday, but the fairs continue to be held for cattle and sheep on the 30th May and 13th November for the feasts of St. Dunstan and All Souls, the change never having been made from old style.

Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend's edit., viii, 350), gives an account of one of those melancholy transactions which his work records. In 1556 four persons were burnt in the town for their religious opinions.

The topographical description of the modern town is that it is in the manor of Mayfield, in the Hundred of Loxfield Camden, Rape of Pevensey, Archdeaconry and Rural Deanery of Lewes, and Diocese of Chichester.

There are several interesting houses in it, which it is not my intention to describe. Drawings will be found in *Domestic Architecture*, by Messrs. Jobbins and Billings (4to, 1861-3, vol. i).

As regards the MANOR HOUSE, or so-called PALACE, it may be stated, in general terms, that all residences in the middle ages, whether purely castles or purely domestic, partook very much of the same character; indeed, the earlier domestic buildings were necessarily defensible. In this, however, there is an absence of every appearance of defence, except in the strong, though not lofty, inclosing wall, parts of which are still as good and perfect as when first built in the thirteenth century, and in the somewhat more castellated appearance of the gate-house. Even churches and monasteries were not unlikely to undergo sieges—the towers of the former in early times being probably refuges for the inhabitants. This house, as I have said, exhibits none of these characteristics, and shows the peacefulness of the times and security of this part of the country in the days of the Edwards. That it was not wholly defenceless may be gathered from the fact that a piece of ordnance

¹ *Rot. Cart.*, 15 Rich. II, and 16 and 17, Rich. II.

² It was disused in Burrell's time, 1778.

now lies in the forecourt which was taken from the tower; and, although this is of the seventeenth century, it may be argued that some previous kind of defensive arrangement was deemed necessary. Cannon were cast in Sussex in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and it is possible that this piece of ordnance was cast within the parish. There were, however, other enemies than warlike ones, for the serious fire which occurred in 1389 destroyed the church and great part of the town, but it does not appear to have extended to the palace.

This is one of the two residences remaining out of the eighteen formerly existing in Sussex, Kent, and Surrey.

There were councils¹ held here in the early part of the fourteenth century, when, as I shall show, an earlier house existed, and before the era of the present hall. There were also regal guests repeatedly in the thirteenth century, and considerable preparations were made for the entertainment of these guests and their retainers, who were so numerous that a modern prelate or nobleman, even the Queen herself, would be heartily ashamed, now-a-days, if they allowed either themselves or their hosts to be troubled with the number. There appear, however, occasionally to have been some scruples, for we find recorded some items in the royal expenditure such as this:—"Pro damno in domibus suis et curtilagio suo," which occurs in the time when King Edward I was guest of one *Arnold de Uckfield*, to whom compensation was paid on one of his journeys when he visited Mayfield.

The place is said to have been a favourite residence of the archbishops, and, viewing the beautiful country around and through which we pass, this cannot surprise us, though we must make allowance, also, for the change of the face of the country by reason of the clearing of the forest and the increased acreage of cultivated land. It also would appear that they were not unfavourable to ending their days there, for three are recorded to have died in the palace, including Simon Islip, and to whom we probably owe the present hall, as well as some other buildings, which, until I made these researches were not known to exist: these I will refer to more

¹ Spelman's *Concilia*, ii, 500; 1332. Another, in 1362, has been mentioned (*Suss. Arch. Coll.*, ii); but it is only a mandate which was then issued by Archbishop Simon (Spelman, ii, p. 609).

precisely presently. It appears that he resided here in 1350, when he must have made arrangements for the alteration and rebuilding: the hall dating from 1350 to 1360.

With regard to the probabilities of the several archbishops' enlargements of the house, we may usefully consider the works upon which they were engaged. William Corboil is the first to whom we need give attention; he held the primacy from 1122 to 1136. He consecrated the cathedral at Canterbury, which had been newly built (? rebuilt after the fire). The completing of this was sufficient work on his hands without such a house as this, and no work is visible of so early a date. Thomas à Becket was much more likely (1162 to 1170) to have planned some of the work. The earliest work bears some marks of being soon after that period. It is possible that à Becket began the stone house, but, being stopped by his dissensions with King Henry and by his six years' exile, was unable to continue that which he might have begun.

Hubert Walter (1193 to 1205) could probably scarcely find money for this work, he having raised a quarter of a million marks from his clergy to redeem the King (Ric. I), although his taste for architecture is well-known and was indulged in, and he was fond of display, and hospitable. This period is precisely that of the earliest part of the work visible, and, in all likelihood, he completed the house, probably on a smaller scale than it afterwards was made to attain; the small remnants still to be seen show a greater amount of enrichment. He was followed by Stephen Langton, who was primate from 1205 to 1228. Archbishop Boniface came next. He built and endowed a hospital at Maidstone, and built his palace at Canterbury, besides which he paid off debts to the amount of 22,000 marks. During his rule (from 1234 to 1270) this was enough to be accomplished. His vast expenditure perhaps occasioned his seeking fresh sources of profit, and thus he was induced to obtain charters for this and other towns for their fairs and markets.¹ From this time to that of Islip there were three archbishops—John Peckham,² Walter Reynolds, and Simon Mepham—of whom I have nothing to say as to these buildings, except

¹ Boniface was exacting and unscrupulous. For a clear description see Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, iii, 249—302.

² There are no records at Canterbury, as regards Mayfield, earlier than Peckham's time.

that they appear to have allowed them, though scarcely more than a century old, to go to decay.

There were, however, some works undertaken about this time ; for the several rolls in the Record Office bear witness to the unceasing efforts made to improve the property of the see. In 1344 the Archdeacon of Richmond sold land at Harnghel to the see,¹ and Richard Twinerton's grant occurs. In the same year a fair was granted to the archbishop for his manor of Croydon.² Two years after, the King confirms an exchange of lands between the archbishop and the Prior of Braiton, the latter giving lands at Waltham and Ertham, in Sussex, for other lands at Stony Eston, Somerset.³ In the 22nd of Edward III, lands at Otforde and Sevenoaks were acquired,⁴ and immediately afterwards a new archbishop (Joh'es de Ufford) was appointed, when all strenuous exertions appear to cease. In 1361, progress seems to have been resumed ; and permission was given for the archbishop, "*De walliis et fossatis de Romney Marshe.*"⁵ King Richard II, in his first year, confirmed to the archbishop all the lands, etc., of Isabel de Coney, daughter of Edward III.⁶

Simon Islip (1349 to 1366) is said to have found all the houses so decayed that not one was habitable. He succeeded in obtaining from the administrators of his predecessor a large sum for the dilapidations of this house (said to be 1,000 mares—£666 13s. 4*d.*—equal to about £15,000 of our money. He obtained a bull for a tenth from his clergy, and repaired or rebuilt the residences. He pulled down the house at Wrotham, and rebuilt that at Maidstone with the materials. He enlarged and repaired Lambeth Palace ; and though we have nothing recorded about this manor-house of Mayfield, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion, looking at the style of the building, than that Islip rebuilt the greater part of it, and built the hall on a grander scale. He passed much of his time here, especially the latter part of his life. It is worthy of note, in reference to the chapel, that in February, 1366, he performed services in the private oratory adjoining the chamber in which he died in the April following. It was in his time that the park was increased by seventy-four acres, for

¹ *Pat. Rolls*, 18 Ed. III, part 1, m. 29 and 33.

² *Ib.*, m. 48.

³ *Ib.*, 22 Edw. III, part 1, m. 34.

⁴ *Ib.*, 35 Edw. III, part 1, terga 6.

⁵ *Ib.*, 20 Edw. III, part 2, m. 20.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1 Ric. 2.

which he obtained the following patent, which has not been printed. The park, old and new, appears, by this document, to be annexed to the rectorial endowment :—

“ B. Simone Archiep'o Cantuar'.—R' omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc., saltm". Sciatis qd' de gra' n'ra spa'li concessim' & licenciam dedim' p' nob' & heredibus n'ris ven'abili p'ri Simoni Archiep'o Cantuar' & p'sone ecc'lie de Maghfeld q'd ip'e sexaginta & quatuordecim acras t're cum p'tin parco suo ad eccl'iam p'd'ctam quam idem Archiep'us in p'prios usus tenet spectanti contiguas que sunt de feodo ip'ius Archiep'i p'prio & tenentes ejusdem Archiepi de eodem feodo tenent de eisdem tenentibus adquirere & ad p'cum suo p'd'c'm p' elargac'oe ejusdem includere et parcum illum sic de eisdem sexaginta & quatuordecim acras elargatu' tan' parcellam rectorie d'ce ecc'lie de Maghfeld tenere possit sibi et successoribus suis Archiepi's Cantuar' ut p'sonis eccl'ie p'd'ce spu'alitati ip'ius Archiepi et successor' suor' annexum in lib'am puram et p'petuam elemosinam adeo lib'e et eodo modo sicut idem Archiepus et p'decessores sui p'sone ecclie p'd'm antiquum parcum anteq'm d'ce sexaginte & quatuordecim (acre) t're eidem p'co incluse & annexe fuerunt tenuerunt sine o'cone vel impedimento n'ri vel heredum nr'or justiciarior' forestarior' viridorior' regardator' aut alior ministror' nr'or foreste quor'cumque et absq'e eo qd' aliqui-ballivi' seu ministri n'ri vel heredum nr'or se inde temporibus vacacionu' d'ce Archiepatus aut alias temporibus futur' in aliquo intromittant. In cujus, etc., T. R. apud Westm' ix die maij.”¹

The Archbishop committed great waste in timber in the forests near, and this may be taken as conclusive evidence of the time of the additions to the house.

William Wittlesey is said, by Mr. Courthope in his MSS., to have finished the works which his uncle (Islip) had begun. He was primate from 1368 to 1375.

There were several prelates succeeded, amongst whom was Thomas Bourchier (1454 to 1486), who made some changes, but from this time we may pass to that of Archbishop Warham (1502 to 1532), whose time corresponds with the earlier portion of the latest additions. He is recorded to have spent the vast sum of £35,000 upon the houses belonging to the see. His arms occur impaled with those of the see in a doorway on the upper floor.

The buildings may, in general terms, be said to be mainly of two dates—namely, the middle of the fourteenth and quite the end of the fifteenth, though there are both earlier

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 28 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 10.

and later portions, and to consist of a great hall lying nearly east and west, with the retainers' department on the west, and the archbishop's on the east, on the four sides of a quadrangle; with his culinary and other offices and cellars beneath. There is, of course, an imputation of an underground passage, though in this instance it is said to be to the church adjacent. I assume that as usual some system of sewerage has given rise to the statement. I cannot do more than point to some masonry underground, beyond which is a modern brick vault, which I am told extends to a considerable length outside the wall under the churchyard.

There had not been a chapel discovered, but on an examination, and perhaps with a pre-determination to find one,—for I am persuaded no mansion of this character was without it, and the archbishop's private chapel is distinctly mentioned in early documents,¹—I have fixed on a spot towards the north-east of the ruins. My reasons for fixing on that as the chapel are, that it is accessible by three different ways, and that the window is slightly more ornate, and placed much too high from the floor of the apartment for any other purpose than an altar beneath it, and that it is adjoining the room most likely to have been the archbishop's.

The buildings have been, as usual, made use of as a quarry; many portions were standing within a century. The modern house next to the gatehouse, on the west, was erected from the materials, and the master builder received as a payment the gatehouse itself in lieu of money.

Commencing with the great hall, which is a splendid specimen of the mediæval reception-room, about 70 feet by 39 feet, and about 42 feet high to the level part of the ceiling, and 60 feet to the roof-tree, I must point out to you the difference there is between the present roof and that which must have been originally placed over it. There is, no doubt, great difficulty in determining what that roof was, because the form of the walling surmounting the stone ribs points either to a clerestory on the same principle as is adopted in Mr. R. Brandon's Church of the Holy Trinity, Knightsbridge, or the ceiling was boarded, giving a slope on each side, and a flat centre part.² That there was some kind

¹ See MSS., Coll. Arms, W. C., 22, fo. 46, for authority.

² There seems to have been an analogous arrangement at the archbishop's

of floor or joisting at one end is certain, for photographs and drawings, going back for upwards of a century, show a series of holes for timber at the west end, and photographs of the other arched walls show what, perhaps, no eye could detect from below, and what no drawing shows—a mark of a former ceiling, with beams *from side to side*, showing a covering or floor over at least the greater part, and perhaps galleries round the other compartments, to which access might have been had from a continuous platform outside. My own opinion is that there could not have been a separate room over the middle part, and that there was a kind of dormer or clerestory, the centre to act as a fumorel. This roof was destroyed in 1730¹ for the sake of the materials. So far as I know, it must have been unique, for the square piece of walling over the arches has no parallel. I show it in the upper part of the view of the interior over the flat ceiling (plate 18). Mr. Street, in a paper read before the Royal Institute of Architects² on “Mediaeval Carpentry,” gives a view, restored, but he errs in ignoring the peculiar outline of the masonry.³ He appears to have looked at the interior (Nash’s) view of the hall of the Mote, Igtham, and concluded it was similar, for it is almost a copy, Nash’s itself being wrong. The three stone arches divided the hall into four compartments or bays; and the rising of a square piece of masonry above the line of the rafters formed the outline, when the beams were laid from arch to arch, of a dormer or clerestory, part of which may have served for emitting the smoke from the fire on the hearth in the centre of the hall. This hearth, though it must have existed, has left no indications, and there is only, even as regards paving, a dim recollection of some paving tiles or small stones, it is not known which, having been dug up from beneath some rubbish. The only other examples of roofs of this character are four in number, namely, 1. S. Miniato, Florence, which is of the Basilican kind, and of the eleventh or twelfth century; there are two arches of stone in that church, which have tympani and spandrels fitting to the

palace at Gillingham, Kent. See drawings, King’s Lib., Mus. Brit., xviii, 26, l. h.

¹ Mr. Courthope says 1740.

² *Transactions*, vol. for 1865, pp. 85 et seq.

The shape of this stone-work is shewn in the drawings in the British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 5671, fos. 31, 32, and King’s Library, xlii, 53.



clerestory and pitch roof, and supporting the purlins and ridge.¹

2. The hall of the Mote, Igham, Kent, which has but one arch,² with a level string-course over it, and a king post like that shown in Mr. Street's drawing, already referred to. This arch was probably the immediate precursor of those at Mayfield, and built by the same hands.

3. The hall of Conway Castle, Carnarvonshire, which has eight stone arches, the construction of which I do not know.

It has been stated that the Guildhall of the city of London had similar arches, but of the sixteenth century. I have already given my opinion on that subject.³

The dais, which was of two steps, judging from the height of the carving, had an unusual feature—namely, a throne attached to the wall; the diaper work of the back remains. This has never been drawn accurately. My view is too small to show it properly. There are two ways to the archbishop's offices, one to the kitchen, and another, evidently the cellarer's special way to the cellars; the latter has always been called a cupboard, but the end of it is a modern wall, and there was a continuation beyond, so that the cellarer could enter without passing through or near the archbishop's own door. This passage is shown at R on the plan (plate 17).

There was formerly a north door (at A) as well as a south or main door with a porch. A room over this porch formerly existed, but it had been destroyed previous to 1780. It must have been accessible only from the buildings on the west, and may probably be the chamber of the archbishop's chaplain, a room over a porch being usually so appropriated. This led to buildings, which extended to some distance, for the retinue. There were two galleries at the west end of the hall, the timber holes of which remain, over which was the way to the "solar" above the hall. The lower end of the hall has three arches, the centre being more important

¹ Views and drawings of this are to be seen in M. Gailhabaud's *Ancient and Modern Architecture*, Gally Knight's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*, Hope's *Essay*, and Willis's *Remarks on Architecture of the Middle Ages*.

² Shewn in Nash's *Mansions*, vol. ii, pl. 4, but erroneously, the spandrels or gussets of stone being omitted, leaving the stone rib quite bare. A coeval two-light window, on the left hand, has been since then discovered and opened by Major Selby.

³ Journal, *ante*, vol. xx, 347.

than the others. Both in respect of these arches and the bay at the upper end, St. Mary's Hall in Coventry bears a resemblance, except that Coventry has two such bays, both being passage-ways.

The changes which have been made at the west end and tower prevent my giving any opinion, as I was not previously acquainted with the ruins. The turret-stair led to the galleries, solar, and apartments. There are some aumbries which probably were used for putting away some of the appliances of the table below the salt. This part has been called the buttery, but no hatch is apparent, and it is unlikely to have been more than a corridor used in connection with the destroyed part northwards.¹ The archbishop's kitchen (which may have been an additional luxury of the fifteenth century) and offices, the grand staircase, the presence chamber, a great parlour, and the withdrawing-room, with the newly-discovered early windows, which have been concealed for more than a century, are shown on the plans. The modern walls and partitions are partly omitted from my plans. The whole of the chambers and rooms communicate. Some additions have been made for private use, and for additional facilities of communication.

There was a large and handsome park to the north, and we can see the inevitable fish-ponds still ; these cover nearly nine acres, and are said to have served for the iron works.²

On the outside of the hall there had been a parapet partly supported by stone arches, which sprang from buttress to buttress, and forming a kind of hood over the windows. The weight and thrust of the stone arches, which also supported the greater part of the roof, necessitated large buttresses, and it is worthy of remark that massiveness and abundant strength were not incompatible with a remarkable lightness and elegance inside and out.

Beneath one of the windows on the southern side of the hall, at c in plan (plate 17), externally, is a piece of stone sculptured with the arms of the see of Canterbury, which has been used afterwards for part of a quatrefoiled panel.

¹ Grimm's drawings shew that there were considerably larger buildings formerly, and these must have been necessary for the accommodation of the numerous retainers. There are appearances of foundations extending for some distance down the hill, and I have been informed that the whole of that part is a maze of walls beneath the surface. (Mus. Brit., King's Lib., xlii, 52, 53b.)

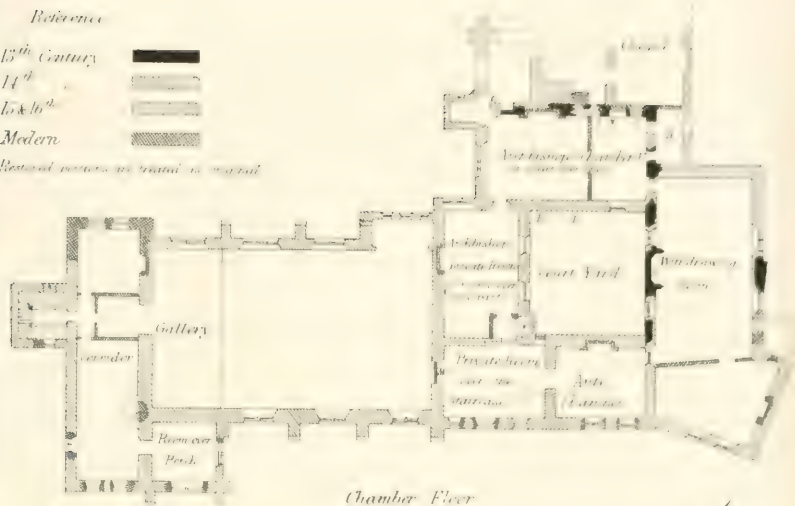
² *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, ii, 224.

MAYFIELD PLACE

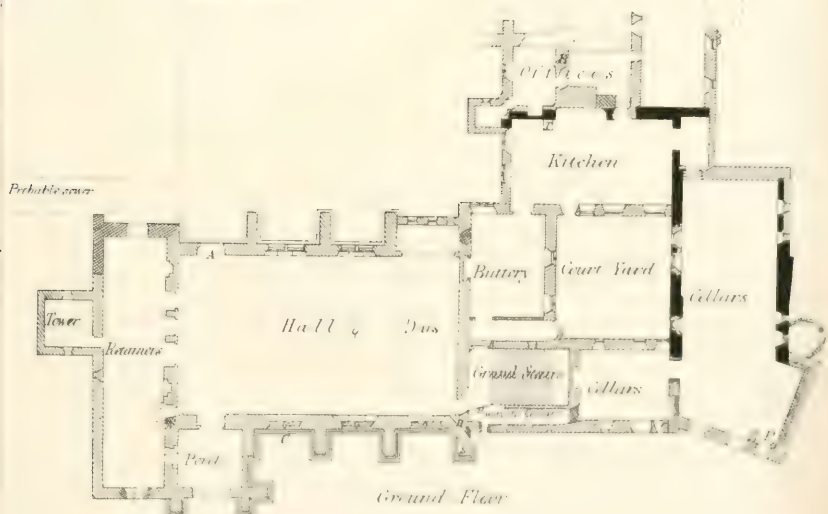
Reference

- 13th Century
- 14th "
- 15 & 16th "
- Modern

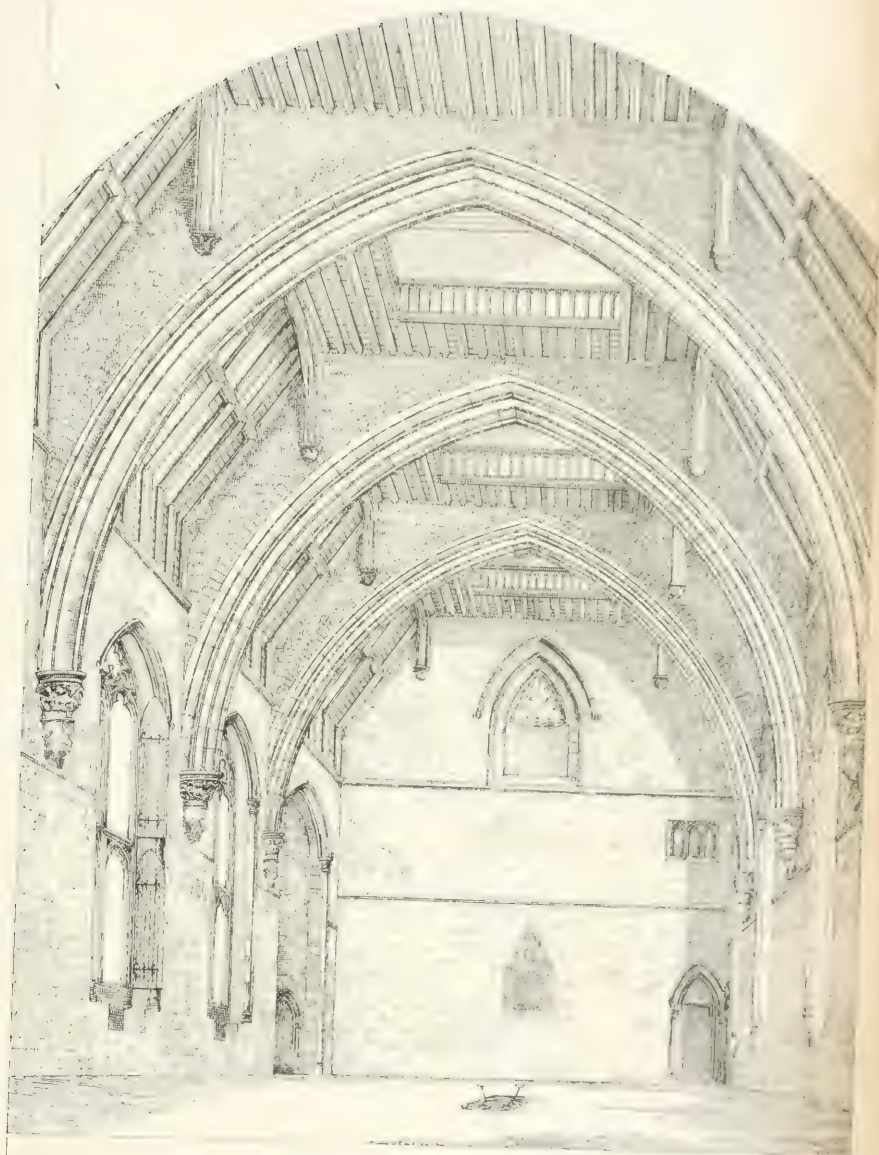
Restored portions are treated as modern



Former buildings



Scale 1 inch = 20 feet



The windows themselves are elegant, and are of two lights in width, divided by a transom; the heads have a trefoil above the lights. There are similar windows, without transoms, both at Bayham Abbey and Wadhurst Church, evidently worked by the same hands, previously, and perhaps an even earlier one at the Mote, Ightham. As there was no glass in the lower portions, they had to be provided with shutters,¹ and the sills are peculiarly grooved, not to drop the shutters into, as has been said, but to catch the drifting rain. They remind us, both in respect of shutters and window-seats projecting from each jamb, of Stokesay Castle.

At P in the same plan are the remains of the fifteenth century groining of the cellars.

On the upper floor the more ancient portions are marked at I, a former window of the thirteenth century; D, E, former windows of probably the same period; F, a former window of the fourteenth century (Islip's time); G, a thirteenth century doorway; H, the passage added outside the former buildings, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The whole of these were unknown prior to the time of my examination, and the diversity of the plans of the two stories led me to the discovery of the last. The chamber in which Islip died is adjoining the chapel; L is an early fire-place of Islip's time; and M, the window looking into the hall, opened in the sixteenth century. In the two rooms, the withdrawing-room and the archbishop's chamber, are Sussex cast-iron chimney backs, the former, bearing the date 1668 and the Royal Crown, is of a more refined character than usual in Sussex works of that period.

The following names of chambers are mentioned in ancient records:—Chamber of the Register, Chamber of the Archbishop's Chancellor, Archbishop's Private Oratory, the Great Hall in which the Council met. We can identify the oratory and hall, but not the other apartments named.

A Bouchier knot has been stated to have been on one of the doorways, and also Bishop Warham's arms impaling Canterbury. I have noticed the Canterbury arms outside, but not these; they occur in a spandrel at X in the plan. The Warham arms are a goat's head in chief and three lozenges in base. It points to the probability, already stated, that he added considerably to the house.

¹ Some of the hinge-irons have been removed, but several remain.

The Bourchier knot, in Burrell's time existing on one of the doorways in the apartments, points to the connection of that prelate with the family of the Earls Bourchier, whose tombs are in Little Easton Church, in Essex, and Chevening Church, Kent, and also to the certainty that some changes were made by him in these buildings. The knot consists of two cords looped, with the four ends loose, two in each direction. The palace had on several occasions been visited by royalty, and has been reputed to have been so visited beyond what seems capable of proof. The first of which evidence is given is King John, who, in one of his flying journeys, stayed at Mayfield. King Edward I. next is recorded as visiting Mayfield, on the 30th May, 1297,¹ when he dated a document from thence; and again on 22nd June, in the same year, on his way from Lamberhurst to Uckfield and Lewes, staying one day at each place. Unquestionably the king rested at the archbishop's house.

On 28th June, 1305, he is again at Mayfield for one day; next day at Lamberhurst on a journey from Lewes. Edward II. visited Sussex in 1324, on which occasion Walter Reynolds, then archbishop, gave him considerable presents.² In 1573, though not mentioned in her progresses, Queen Elizabeth is said to have been entertained by Sir Thomas Gresham, and one of the rooms is still called the Queen's chamber, with what propriety no one can tell. This room is shown on the plan (plate 18) as the archbishop's chamber. A date carved on the chimney-piece in the room, 1371, has been supposed to be intended for 1571, to which era the characters belong. I think the grasshoppers in medallions on the same piece of stone in this chimney-piece point to the fact that it was fitted up by Sir Thomas, and probably in 1571, as he was then occupying the mansion, and two years prior to the reputed visit from Queen Elizabeth. The figure, though it is a 3, must be intended for 5, because the work is wholly incompatible with that of the fourteenth century, and accords with the sixteenth.

The gate-house has been much altered to make it suitable for a residence. Many mouldings and pieces of wall remain of apparently the fifteenth century, with later alterations, probably coinciding with the alterations in the main buildings. It has reverted to the same owners as the palace, as

¹ *Archæologia*, xxii, 125.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, vi, 42.

well as two hundred acres of the land, so that it is nearly its former self as may be.

In advance of the buildings on the south west is a well house of the fifteenth century. The well is called St. Dunstan's, and may be that referred to in the legends of him, which say that wherever he struck his staff fountains of limpid water burst forth.¹

MAYFIELD CHURCH.

The church is dedicated to St. Dunstan, who built the original church of wood in the tenth century, though, as far as has been ascertained, no vestige of that early fabric has been discovered, nor is the dedication known. It probably did not endure until the time of the fire in 1389; but though it is tolerably certain that some more substantial fabric had taken the place of St. Dunstan's,—and the west end of the north aisle shows a thirteenth century fabric to have existed,—no record appears to be extant. As the church was said to be *consumed* by the fire, we may conclude that we have a date for the commencement of the new church, a considerable part of which remains. Amongst the many legends about St. Dunstan, is one appertaining to the first building of timber, the orientation of which not being accurate, was made so by St. Dunstan, on dedicating it, by an application of his shoulder to one of the angles, which caused it to slue round to its proper point, to the amazement of all present.

The church, as it now stands, consists of a nave of considerable dimensions,—65 feet long by 26 feet 6 inches broad, and with aisles similar to those at Wadhurst,² where the archbishops had another residence, namely, narrow on the north side and wide on the south, being respectively 9 feet 5 inches wide, and 16 feet 5 inches,—those at Wadhurst being 9 feet 4 inches and 15 feet 11 inches,—the entire width of both being exactly 56 feet 8 inches, which cannot be an accidental coincidence; and it would be an inquiry worth entering on, whether all or any of the other churches in these beadeltries, or adjacent to the archiepiscopal residences, corresponded in this particular. The whole structure, except a small earlier portion, bears the impress of the period *circa* 1410-20, and it is probable that several

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, v, May 19.

² *Vide infra*, pp. 365-369.

years would elapse, after so severe a calamity as the fire before mentioned, ere any serious steps could be taken with regard to the church,—attention would necessarily have to be first bestowed on the rehousing of the people. Though, however, that is the main date, it has undergone changes, as almost every church has, and has been repewed with the intention of giving greater space and convenience. It may be concluded that there are some objectors to further improvements, as there are remains in the south aisle of churchwarden's pens.

There is little to be said of the nave, except as regards its handsome expanse. It is of the ordinary character of the period, with octagonal piers to the arcades. The roof is remarkable for its unfitness, being a subsequent addition, and so discordant is it, that two of the pairs of posts occur in front of the clerestory windows. Till recently, a tablet in the church recorded the fact that Michael Baker, in 1720, gave ten tons of timber towards this roof, and for the bel-fry an additional quantity.¹ Of the south aisle, little more is to be said than of the nave. There is a piscina, apparently coeval with the church, the jambs of the windows adjoining bearing similar mouldings, which seem to be slightly earlier than the piers of the nave, indicating a consecutive progress towards the west: the eastern end of this aisle was a separate chantry, of which the original roof remains, and will compare favourably with the other roofs. A niche is there, with some indications of former polychromy, and a piscina, or credence, in the usual place at the side. This being the only chantry visible, may have been the chantry of S. Alban to be presently referred to. The only priest's door is an entrance to this chantry.

The north aisle, as has been mentioned, contains the earliest specimen in the building. At the west end is a window of the thirteenth century, proving that a church of probably similar dimensions formerly stood on the site, and that the wooden fabric had, as was natural, given place to a more costly and substantial erection. On the outside, at this point, there is evidence that the lower part is ancient, and is a remain of an earlier aisle in the form of a lean-to, probably altered into a gable, as it now is, after the fire: this portion of the aisle has some marks of having been enclosed. The paving, too, is lower than the rest of the

¹ Add. MSS., No. 5697, fo. 545.

church, and was, in all likelihood, the original level: the whole is deplorably damp, and in decay: fungi are growing from the floors, and even from the benches. In England, there is but one other church where I remember to have seen equal neglect (see *Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 245); but in some parts of the continent, where subsidence has occurred, it is not uncommon to see semi-submerged chapels, where perpetual vegetation is under foot. At the western end of this aisle was formerly a north door; but it is now blocked up. It is to be remarked, that from west to east the floor rises perceptibly: I have noticed this on many occasions,¹ and should be gratified if other ecclesiologists would direct attention to the point in other churches. Of the chantries, or altars, in the church we know little. That there was one to St. Alban, we may assume from an offering of King Edward I, on June 22, 1297 (St. Alban's Feast), of 7s., the the town really paying that and other expenses; for on the same day certain bakers, and others, were fined 13s. 4d. for short measures.² The chancel unquestionably was the first part to be restored after the fire, and its character is that of nearly half a century before the western end: the dimensions are of unusual grandeur in comparison with the church. The width is the same as that of the nave, 26 feet 6 inches, the length being 49 feet. A lychnoscope from the chantry in the south aisle enabled the worshippers there to see the elevation of the pyx: the usual piscina is there also. Of a very fine rood screen, the lower part only remains, of the same date as the church; but I question very much whether it occupies its original position. The large piers at the junction of the nave and chancel almost incline one to think there had been a choir. The south porch is groined, and has a priest's chamber over it.

The tower, like the west end of the north aisle, is also part of the antecedent structure. This is evidently of the early part of the thirteenth century, *circa* 1220-30, with heavy buttresses; scroll-string mouldings, and equilateral lancets.

While mentioning buttresses, it occurs to me to mention that no one has striven to account for the extremes exhibited in buttresses from the earliest rudiments in the Norman era, to the huge shelving masses of the next

¹ *Vide Journals*, vol. xvii, p. 267, and vol. xix, 290.

² *Wardrobe Accounts*, Record Office.

period, from which time they became more and more reduced and refined, until they faded, in most cases, into weak affectations. The walls in the Norman and first pointed period were equal in thickness and substantiality. The suggestion I have to offer, is that the masons of the thirteenth century, finding most of the Norman walls giving way under the pressure of the usual vaulting, adopted the admirable expedient of the loaded buttress; and those who next succeeded were enabled, by greater scientific knowledge, to refine them, until at length, in the general debasement, they became unmeaning eccentricities.

The shingled spire, covering this tower, is of comparatively recent date; and some of the windows have been inserted possibly after the storms and fires,—two of these windows are at the summit; and a three-light window, now blocked up,—and are of a date subsequent to its rebuilding; thus warranting the suggestion that the storms ruined these parts.¹ In the tower, too, occurs a feature which, but for the accidents named, would undoubtedly have proved to have been more abundant; namely, the insertion of early fourteenth century work: a rage seems to have taken hold of all builders at that age, and a frequent insertion of pure and beautiful tracery was the consequence. The first stage, and the west doorway, of this tower are examples of this universal tendency of the period. A very curious evidence of the spirit which pervaded the works during the whole age of mediæval art, is in the addition of the buttresses. The former doorway, in the middle of the north aisle of the chancel, is blocked most effectually by a more recent buttress. The wall, indeed, in its whole length, has been added to; the lower part is of the thirteenth century,—part of the original aisle,—while the upper part is of the fourteenth century.

Mayfield was included in a prebend to South Malling in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, being granted by Stephen Langton, then archbishop.² It was subsequently a vicarage in the deanery of South Malling, valued at £7 : 6 : 8,³ but is now in the archdeaconry of Lewes. The

¹ A second fire occurred in 1590, but which did not touch the church. On March 18, 1621, a storm nearly destroyed the south aisle, and damaged the chancel and steeple on the south side, and the roof.

² *Carta*, Bib. Bodl., p. 134, and Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, 549. Mr. Turner says about 1190, by Boniface (S. A. Coll., v, 131.)

³ *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas.

archbishopric held the rectory, valued at £60. It is remarkable that the Subsidy Roll of 13 Henry IV (1411-12), the year of the earliest *compotus*, now at Lambeth, mentions neither the archbishop, Mayfield, nor Wadhurst. In the *Valor Eccles.* of Hen. VIII, the vicarage was valued at £17 : 13 : 4 gross ; the rectory, £15 ; and the archbishop's other interests, £92,¹ as follows :—

“ MAIGHFELD.

“ Valet in reddit' assie, *iiijl. xjs. ii 4 pt' q'*
 In novo reddit', *cxvijs. j ob' di' q'*
 In reddit' shopp' et shamell', *xvijs. j ob'*
 In exit' terr' in man' dni, *iiijd.*
 In consuetud', *xvli. vjd. ob' q' di'*
 In cust' nid' espvar' *iijs. iiijd.*
 In avestag' porcor', *xxs.*
 In vendicōe bosc', *ixli.*
 In pquis' cur' ibm p ann' *vjl. xvijjs.*
Sma *iiij^{xx} xijs. viijd.*

“ MAIGHFELD Rectoria.

“ Valet ad firm' p ann' *xvli.*
Sma ut patz

“ MAIGHFELD PARCUS.

“ Valet in firma herbag' parci ibm p ann', *xls.*
Sma ut patz

Sma totalis Balliat' de Southmally'g, *ccclxxiiijl. iijs. viijd. q' di'.*

“ MAYFIELD.

“ Wifflmus Dale clericus vicarius ibidem valet clare per annū cum omibz profic et cōmoditatibz ultra *vjs. viijd.* Sol' dicto decano de Mallyng pro procuraōne annua, *xvijl. xijs. iiijd.*

“ X^a inde, *xxxvs. iiijd.*

“ NOVUS PRIORATUS DE HASTYNG UNDE *** MAYFIELD.

“ Firma terrarum ibidem in tenura Ric'i Mewpam per annū, *xlvs. viijd.*”

The vicarage was endowed by Archbishop Boniface in 1262, the archbishops retaining the rectory. In Pope Nicholas's taxation, the archbishop's revenue is returned for the church of Mayfield *iiii^{xx} marks* (£60), and the vicar *xi marks* (£7 : 6 : 8). The vicarage is now returned at between £800 and £900. The following were returned by the Bishop of Chichester, in 1810, to the Record Commissioners, as being peculiars of the archbishop :²

¹ p. 2, B.

² *Valor Eccles.* i. 459.

In the deanery of Pagham.—All Saints perpetual curacy; Bersted vicarage; East Lavant rectory; Pagham vicarage; Slyndon rectory; Tangere rectory. *In the deanery of Midhurst.*—Plaistow chapel to Kirdford. *In the deanery of Tarring.*—Paching rectory; Tarring rectory; Tarring vicarage. *In the deanery of South Malling.*—Buxted rectory; Edburton rectory; Isfield rectory; Mayfield vicarage; Ringmer rectory; Stanmer rectory; Wadhurst vicarage; Cliffe rectory; Framfield vicarage; Glynd vicarage; Lindfield perpetual curacy; South Malling perpetual curacy.

The registers are deficient a few leaves at the beginning, and commence with 1570. Some of the information herein given is obtained from them. There is an account of these registers in the 4th vol. *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, p. 256. The following is as nearly complete a list of the vicars as can be obtained:—

James, occurs 1315-1316; there were two curates, consecutively, to assist this vicar, viz., Richard de Terring and Will. de Isewood; John de Thynden, instituted 1317 (resigned 1351); Ralph de Ravenstan; Ralph Baker, 1351; John de Wickliffe (the Reformer), 1361; Simon Russell, 1380; Wm. Wardewe, April 1382; Geoffrey Mareshall, July 1382; John Sabyn, Aug. 1382; Wm. Lyndon, Oct. 1382; John Chapman, 1389; John Scoy; Richard Maynford, 1404; Henry Trowell; Will. Blundell, 1417; Will. Hebbenge, 1450; Robert Chaloner; Thomas Lemster, 1459; Thomas Symys, 1481; William Dale, occurs 1535; Geoffrey Aprice, instituted 1544; Henry Beecher, 1559; Thomas Goddall, 1567; George Carleton, 1589; Edward Topsell, 1605 (removed 1606); William Whitfield, 1606; John Lucke, 1610; John Maynard, 1624 (occurs 1646); Francis Seyliard, 1662; Robert Peck, 1663; Peter Baker, 1696; Odiane Baker, 1730; Robert Hooper, 1733; John Godman, 1746; Richard Porter, 1752; Roger Challice, 1762; John Kirby, 1780; John Kirby, 1810; Henry Thomas Murdock Kirby, the present vicar, 1845.

On the 5th of April, 1361, one of those extraordinary results of clerical influence, which were common at this period, took place in this church. Elizabeth Countess of Kent did penance in it, because, having taken the vows of chastity, she married again. She was the widow of John Plantagenet, Duke of Kent, and in 1360 married Sir Eustace

D'Alrichecourt, and for that was sentenced to severe penance, which was partly carried out in this church. The monuments are not ancient, and not within the limits of my subject;¹ but it may be mentioned that there are two cast-iron Sussex slabs in the nave, dated 1668; one is of remarkably rude work, the letters being awry, and in the figures marking the age, the 7 is turned backwards. Formerly the anvil, etc., which are now in the Palace, were kept in the church. These have been mentioned at p. 333, note. The tool-tray (marked 1 in plan), forgotten for years, is now fixed on a block adjoining the fire-place in the kitchen. It is of the same period as the other articles, though formerly known as S. Dunstan's. There is also the (iron) upper half of a flask for casting shot or shell; but it has hitherto been called either a piscina or a mill.

"Curfew" is still rung, at 8 o'clock, from Michaelmas to Lady Day.

List of principal Works and references.—Grose's *Antiq.*, vol. iii, text and views, 1778-84. *Sus. Arch. Coll.*, ii, 142 *et seq.*, and 221 *et seq.*; vii, p. 230; xiv, p. 50. Wilkins's *Concilia*; ii, 560. Spelman's *Conc.*, i, 340; iii, 500-609. *Bibliotheca Topog.*, i, 200-212. Camden, *Brit.*, i, 205. Rouse's *Beauties, etc., Sussex*, pp. 134-145. Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, p. 548. Weever's *Fun. Mon.*, 629. Sandford's *Gen. Hist.*, 386. Horsfield, *Hist. Sussex*, i, 415 *et seq.* *Cal. Rot. Cart.*, pp. 90, 150, 192. *Pat. Rolls*, 17 Edw. III: 18 Edw. III, part i, m. 29; 28 Edw. III, part i, m. 10. *Calend. Inquis. post Mortem*, 6 Hen. V. *Rot. Hund.*, Edw. I, pp. 207, 219. Berry's *Sus. Geneal.*, p. 79. *Valor Eccles.*, vol. i, pp. 26, 338, 354, and archbishop's return. *Gentleman's Mag.*, vol. 46, p. 464; vol. xl, p. 499; vol. xci, pp. 2, 507. Additional MSS. *Mus. Brit.*, Nos. 5671, 5702, 5705, 5706, 5767, 5828, 6344, 6360, 6361. King's Lib., *Mus. Brit.*, vol. drawings, Sussex, xlii. *Lambeth Rolls*. *Bod. Lib.* drawings by Grimm, and Gough's *Topog. Coll.*, Oxford. Dollman's *Analysis*, ii. *Transactions Royal Inst. Brit. Architects*, 1865. *MSS. Coll. Arms*, W. C., Nos. 19 to 26, and plans, No. 23. Britton's, and others', *Guides to Tunbridge Wells*. Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vols. i to v.

¹ They are described in Add. MS. 6344, Brit. Mus., and MSS., Coll. of Arms.

THE CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, WADHURST
SUSSEX.

This church, though not visited by the Association, was included in the programme, and I had previously made myself acquainted with it, and noted, amongst other facts, that it had been recently restored, and therefore its more ancient features were not so immediately discernible. It was one of the peculiars already referred to in the account of Mayfield Manor, in which it is situated, the archbishop having been the rector. It is a vicarage in the deanery of South Malling. Until the thirteenth century, it was a chapelry only, in the bedelry of Mayfield, in the manor of Malling; but in 1291 Archbishop Peckham endowed it with the small tithes, the great tithes being vested in the archbishop, until Cranmer surrendered the manor [see p. 345 *ante*]. The rectory was at that time farmed out. It was, after the surrender, sold to Sir Henry Neville, and by him to Sir Thomas Gresham, and then to Thomas Ayrescham or Ayrescombe, of Mayfield, who presented it to Wadham College, Oxford, in whom the patronage now vests.

This place, like Mayfield, was utterly unknown until the thirteenth century, if it existed at all; but like that place, it rose to importance under the care of the archbishops. Boniface, in 1252, obtained a charter for a market and fair, which are still held. The parish contains 10,139 acres.¹ The value appears to have been in the time of Pope Nicholas, £3. In the time of the *Valor Eccles.* the vicarage was returned at £15 : 1 : 0,² and the rectory, £11 : 8 : 4. The deanery of Malling was assessed at 6s. 8d.

The registers commenced in 1541, but part having been lost, the earliest now is 1604. They have been noticed in the fourth volume of the *Suss. Archæol. Coll.*, p. 269. The church appears frequently to have suffered damage, for it

¹ One of the few references to church possessions here is in the *Calend. Inquis. post Mortem*, Edw. I. P. 223, No. 84: "Edmundus de Passeley pro capellano de Passeley, Wadehurst, 120 acr' terr', Sussex."

² i, p. 338. *Wadehurst*.—"Simon Jennys cl'icus vicarius ibidem valet clare per annu' cum om'ib' proficuis et com'oditatib' ultra, vjs. viiij*d.* Annuali' sol' decano de Mallyng p' procurac'one annua, xvli. xij*d.* X^a inde, xxxs. j*d.*"

Vol. i, p. 2,—"*Dioc' Cantuar'.* Balli' at' de South Mally'g in comitat' Sussex. *Rectoria de Wadehurst*.—Valet ad firma' p' an'um, xj*d.* xiijs. iiij*d.* S'ma ut pat'."

was burnt no less than four times : namely, in 1575, 1595, 1631, and 1680.¹ In 1631 it was struck by lightning, when the steeple was shattered, and much harm done to the church ; and in 1680 the steeple was again injured, and set on fire during a storm.

The church consists of a nave 51 feet 7 inches by 28 feet, an unusual width, and with aisles 16 feet wide on the south side, and 9 feet 4 inches on the north side. The similarity of shape and size to Mayfield has already been noticed. It has a western tower ; a south porch, with priest's chamber over it ; a north transept, with chantries in the latter ; and the south aisle, in both of which places the piscina remain. The chancel is 39 feet 6 inches long, and 22 feet 6 inches wide, slightly inclining towards the north. The general style is that called the early English ; namely, during the reigns of Richard I, John, and Henry III, this being a specimen of the earlier part of that style, but some portions are unquestionably of later date ; the tower, however, is to be noticed as having some of the earliest appearances. Chronologically, we commence with the tower.

The exterior bears evidence of its early date,—nearly a century earlier than any other part of the church,—though it is far from being unaltered. I imagine that, as is frequently the case, the first church, dating from Henry III, was small, and was eventually pulled down, leaving only the tower standing ; the new church was then marked out, and the chancel first completed for service ; next, the nave and aisles, the southern of which, and the transept, were added afterwards, and enlarged. On the north side of the tower is a small circular-headed light, *circa* 1150, all the windows on the uppermost stage being undoubtedly coeval. In the interior is a feature, not unusual in the towers of Saxon and Norman churches, an opening from the first stage (the ringing chamber) into the gable of the nave. There is one here which, though now stopped, betokens the continuance of a very early practice, discontinued in and after the twelfth century. Such an opening is almost invariably found in Saxon west towers, and frequently in Norman ; but in the latter case, I believe it results from the structures being built by *Saxon* workmen in the period of the early Norman rule. The chancel, as is very usual, bears some

¹ MS., Coll. Arms, W. C., 25. fo. 15.

indications of having been built before the nave ; the string is a bowtell curled at the end ; it is arched over the door, where the bowtell is converted to a scroll with a cavetto edge. This may or may not have been worked afterwards, but the bowtell certainly has an early stamp. Two lancet windows remain out of those originally placed there. The larger size of the later windows marks the demand for increased light, in consequence of the progress in learning, which made it necessary to enable greater numbers to see to read ; one of these windows is like that referred to at Mayfield and Bayham (see pp. 356, 357, *ante*). There were three sedilia, not now entire, and the credence and piscina, adjoining, remain. The nave is of four bays, all being unequal, and the piers being alternately circular and octagonal. It is probably of about 1220 ; the south arcade is slightly earlier than the north, the capitals of the piers bearing obvious marks of anticipation. Some change has been made in the chancel opening, the upper part of the arch seems original ; at the opposite end, the arch into the tower shows its genuine fifteenth century birth,—probably its predecessor, of the same period as the tower, was a small doorway. The clerestory is of the early part of the sixteenth century ; and I conceive that this was altogether an addition, the previous church, in all probability, wanting that feature which in later times was considered so essential, though in earlier cases only applied to the most important fanes. The north aisle—the narrow one—may be of its original width ; the windows are placed in order, central, with the intercolumniations. The south aisle has been widened, probably in the fourteenth century (though there is much that is quite modern), and the windows are not central ; all the windows, however, north and south, are of similar pattern, and evidently inserted, in the attempt to produce some uniformity. Some angular buttresses appear to have been at the same time introduced on the north side. The south aisle has a window at the east end of the *perpendicular*, or fifteenth century period, all the others being of the fourteenth century. There is a fifteenth century south porch. The transept has a *perpendicular* window, likely enough to be undisturbed in its position, matching that on the south side, the window being in reality within the aisle.

At the north end of this transept is a window of an en-

tirely different kind,—similar in cusping to those at Mayfield palace and Bayham Abbey, and most likely worked by the same hands ; it consists of two-light trefoils with ogival trefoil head. Of the roofs, the south aisle has some beams of the time of the alterations, namely, the fourteenth century. The font is partly of the thirteenth century. The galleries were built in the north aisle and “little chancel” in 1638, and the wainscots in the chancel and the outside rail fixed.

Vicars of Wadhurst.—Walter de Otingeton, instituted 1313 ; John Denis, or John Denys, de Thyndon,¹ 1316 (occurs 1317) ; Will. Noble, 1317 ; Thos. Fitz Ralph, 1318 ; John Seaman, 1325 ; John Dantree, 1356 ; Paul Truyt, 1365 ; Wm. Blaken, 1375 ; Thos. Wardecopp ; John Wiltoneshurst, 1404 ; John Benet, 1408 ; Adam Skelton, 1414 ; John Benet, 1421 ; Alan Newell, 1423 ; Henry Adesham ; John Maukyn, 1425 ; Robert Parmenter, 1425 ; Hy. Trowell, 1431 ; John Raysted ; Willm. Edward, or Bradford, 1459 ; John Browne, 1463 ; John Cabbell, 1487 ; Reginald Philippe, 1499 ; John Fenylton, 1509 ; Simon Jenyns, 1527 ; George Chidley, 1537 ; Thomas Kent, 1541 ; Peter Daniel (occurs 1550) ; Geoffrey Wilson, 1550 ; Thomas Webster (occurs 1554) ; Robert Parris, 1568 (occurs 1595) ; John Hatley, 1603 (occurs 1620) ; Peter Beauvoir, 1645 ; James Wilcocke, 1649 (occurs 1650, died 1661) ; John Smith, 1662 (died 1713) ; John Willett, 1714 (died 1742) ; Samuel Bush, 1743 (occurs 1778) ; Alex. Litchfield, 1783 ; Wm. Salmon, 1804 (died 1818) ; Robert Barlow Gardiner, 1818 (died 1845) ; John Foley (present vicar), 1846.

¹ Perhaps the same as at Mayfield in 1317.

MASTER JOHN SCHORN: HIS CHURCH AND WELL AT NORTH MARSTON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A.

WHEN once we are interested in the life and fortunes of any person, be he a reality or the creation of a poet's fancy, the "local habitation" that he occupied becomes full of interest also. Thousands have visited Loch Katrine to see with their own eyes fair Ellen's Isle. Thousands have journeyed to see the presumed scene in which Goldsmith places his *Deserted Village*, and have delighted to trace in the surrounding landscape the spots immortalised in that touching poem. I need, therefore, make no apology, I trust, for a pilgrimage that I have lately paid to the village of North Marston in Buckinghamshire, that I might see the church once famous for the shrine of Master John Schorn, and that I might drink the water of his Holy Well. There were several points connected with that worthy, which I thought might possibly receive some illustration from a visit to the very locality in which he lived and died: and the results of this visit, together with a few notes collected since my previous paper on this subject¹ was written, are here briefly set down. I will tell, as shortly as may be, the story of this modern pilgrimage.

On the last day, then, of October I set forth on my visit to the Shrine. The London and North Western Railway carried me to Bletchley Junction, and thence to Winslow. From Winslow North Marston is distant some four miles in a southerly direction. The road lies through a small village bearing the euphonious, though scarcely correct, name of Grandborough, named evidently on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. North Marston itself has few buildings of interest save the church and well, unless an inn, whose sign is "The Armed Yeoman," may for that unusual title be thought worthy of notice.

The church is pleasantly situated on a gently rising ground of sufficient height to give to those who are willing to ascend the tower a very charming view of fertile pasture

¹ Cf. *ante*, pp. 256-268.

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land, studded with villages and churches : and though, perhaps, without any very striking features, yet full of that calm pastoral beauty which adds so great a charm to many an English landscape. It will be remembered that the chancel is said to have been built from the offerings of the pilgrims who thronged to the shrine of Master Schorn. This part of the church has of late been a good deal altered, chiefly at the cost of the Queen, by whom the east window was filled with painted glass, in memory of John Camden Neild, Esq., a former resident in the village, who, dying in 1852, bequeathed to her Majesty his large fortune. The nave measures 38 feet by 19 feet; the chancel, 40 feet by 20 feet. Three perpendicular windows occur on each side of the chancel—the middle window, however, on the north side, though its arch is filled with tracery, is not available for the transmission of light. For the vestry, and a chamber above it, block up the whole of the window, except that in the centre compartment there is a rectangular opening (1 ft. 4 in. in height, by 10 in. in width). The vestry gives access by a modernised staircase on its western side, to the “Priest’s Chamber,” as the apartment is still called, above it. This room (11 ft. 3 in. by 13 ft. 4 in.), which has a fireplace, and is lighted by three windows, is supposed to be the chamber in which the priest lodged, whose duty it was to watch the shrine of Master Schorn. The opening mentioned above, is about 4 ft. 7 in. from the floor of this apartment, and commands a view of the southern end of the present altar. Some of the village people, in whose mouths Master Schorn’s name is still familiar as a household word, believe that the chamber was tenanted by that famous worthy; but the perpendicular architecture of the priest’s room is a sufficient answer to the tradition.

From this upper chamber a spiral stair gives access to the roof, upon which, say the villagers, the priest used to walk. It is also reported in the village that an empty niche over the east window of the chancel was once occupied by a statue of Sir John.

I cannot enter into any lengthened description of the church (it is dedicated to St. Mary), and will content myself, therefore, with rapidly enumerating its most interesting features. These are, in the chancel, the six stalls, facing eastwards, which retain their misericordes: the panelling in

front of the side stalls (the stalls themselves having disappeared), and the three canopied sedilia formed beneath the southernmost window. There is on the north wall an inscription to "Mr. John Virgin, minister of North Maston [*sic*], who deceased the 6 day of January, 1649," with the quaint and unusual addition, at its dexter lower corner, of a hand carved in relief and pointing to the floor, around which is inscribed,—

"HE LIES IVST DOVNE THARE."

On the same wall is also an inscription in brass to Elizabeth Saunders, 1613, with this punning commencement,—

"Though nor my skill nor prayers could save
Thyself (grave matron) from the grave."

At the east end of the south aisle is a piscina with a shelf (there is a similar one in the south wall of the vestry); and there are two canopied niches in the jambs of the east window, a rectangular opening through the last nave pier looking north, and a *squint* or *lucioscope* running north-east into the chancel. The ball-flower adorns plentifully most of this work. This same pier, and the corresponding pier on the north side, are pierced with the upper doors of the rood-screen. The ruins of the upper part of the screen remained *in situ* within the memory of my guide. The north aisle measures only 9 ft. 6 in. in width.

Having visited the church, I hastened to the well, some 250 paces to the southward. In Sheahan's *History of Bucks* (8vo. London, 1862, p. 404) is the following brief account of it, taken Mr. Sheahan says, from "Mr. Kelke's description": "The well still known by the villagers as 'Sir John Schorn's Well,' but more commonly called 'The Town's Well,' is about 150 yards from the church, and consists of a cistern 5 ft. 4 in. square, and 6 ft. 9 in. deep. This is walled round with stone, and has a flight of four stone steps descending into the water. The cistern is enclosed by a building somewhat larger than the well itself, with walls composed of brick and stone, about 5 ft. high, and covered with a roof of boards."

Since, probably, this account was written, a villager descending the steps to fill her pails with water, fell into the cistern and was drowned; and the authorities of the place have guarded the well by a grated door, securely padlocked,

to prevent further casualties ; and now the pilgrim who desires to drink its waters is compelled to avail himself of a pump in order to gain access to the healing stream. This same pump sadly destroys the last vestige of romance that all might be supposed to linger about the scene. To journey all those miles to see the once Holy Well, and then to find a pump—oh ! what a falling off was there !

Mr. Sheahan furnishes a few additional details. The water, he says, is remarkable for its extreme coldness in all seasons. In 1820 it was described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as slightly chalybeate, and containing a large portion of calcareous earth, but since that date it is said that its medicinal properties have varied. The water is never frozen in the severest weather, and the spring never fails in the greatest drought. "The well only came into general use for drinking in 1835, when a fever prevailed in the parish, and since then no fatal epidemic has visited the place. The inhabitants live to a great age, and but few comparatively die in childhood." In a conversation with the present incumbent, I gathered that the well was fed by a spring rising upon the spot, and not, as some have said, by a stream whose source is on Oving Hill. And further, I was informed that a sheep-trough hard by has often been mistaken for the well itself, and, indeed, in one published account, has been described as the holy well.

It naturally occurs to one to ask whether there may not have been some foundation in fact for the once general belief in the healing virtues of the holy well. With a view to solve this question, I brought away with me a small quantity of the water for analysis. Much more, however, than I had taken being required to render the analysis certain, the Rev. Richard Knight, the incumbent of the parish, most kindly sent me two gallons of the water. Dr. Bernays, of St. Thomas's Hospital, with that ready liberality and courtesy which characterise men of science, willingly undertook to make a careful analysis of the water, with a special view to this point. It can hardly be imagined that a mere blind and ignorant credulity could have led thousands of persons to frequent the shrine, had not some material benefits accrued to them from their visit : at any rate their offerings would not have reached the large sum said to have been collected annually from the pilgrims, unless the well had

really possessed some curative power; for it is to be remembered that this once famous pilgrimage was not undertaken, as many other pilgrimages were, for the purpose of devotion *pure et simple*, but distinctly that the pilgrims might be cured of the ague. It appeared, therefore, a matter of some considerable interest to ascertain what are the qualities that the water really possesses, and thus to disengage the grain of truth from the bushel of fable in which it is hidden. Dr. Bernays took up the matter very warmly, and has made an accurate analysis, quantitative as well as qualitative, which, by his kind permission, I now subjoin.

"Analysis of the Water from Sir John Schorn's Well.—The water from Sir John Schorn's well is somewhat out of the common, and is doubtless, to a certain extent, medicinal. The analysis is not complete; but as you are desirous to have an opinion about the water, so as to publish it with your report, I have no hesitation in supplying the following information.

"The filtered water is beautifully clear and bright and sparkling, from the quantity of free carbonic acid which it contains. One litre of the water contains 1.081 or $1\frac{81}{1000}$ grammes of salts. On boiling this water, and treating it on approved chemical principles, it deposits 0.307 grms. of lime carbonate, with a minute trace of magnesia and iron carbonate. This lime-carbonate is held in solution by free carbonic acid, as so-called bicarbonate of lime. In addition, I find in solution in one litre of water,—

	Grms.
Chlorine - - - - -	0.0276
Sulphuric acid - - - - -	0.1354
Silica - - - - -	0.0180
Lime - - - - -	0.0142
Magnesia - - - - -	0.0900
	<hr/>
	0.2852

Somewhat more than $\frac{1}{4}$ gramme of salts in the form of lime-sulphate (gypsum) and magnesia-sulphate (Epsom salts), with magnesium chloride. The remaining salts (not yet estimated) are potash and soda-carbonates.

(Signed) "ALBERT J. BERNAYS,
"Prof. of Chemistry at St. Thomas's Hospital.

"N.B.—One litre = 1.76 pint or $1\frac{3}{4}$ pt. One gramme (grs.) = 15.432 or $15\frac{432}{1000}$ grains."

I venture to add a few additional particulars connected with Master Schorn, which may not be entirely without interest.

A well-known ecclesiastical antiquarian, an eminent hagiologist, in a letter with which he has favoured me, says:—"I do not know that Schorn was canonised, but I observe

that his will [see p. 267 of the present volume] is headed 'Copia testamenti *beati* Johannis de Shorne.' Beatification is the preliminary step to canonisation, but in many cases no further step is taken." It is possible, then, that although Master Schorn may never have attained a place in the calendar, the earlier stages of canonisation may have been passed.

I must next bring under the notice of the association a fourth painted effigy of Sir John. At a meeting of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute, held at Sudbury, in Suffolk, 25th September, 1850 :—

"Mr. Gainsborough Dupont exhibited a painted panel which probably had formed part of a rood screen in Sudbury, with the remains of a nimbused figure, habited in the costume of a Doctor of Divinity, and holding in the left hand a book, into which an imp or devil seems in the act of descending. The right arm of the saint is extended, and the thumb and two first fingers of his hand raised towards the book. Over his head is a scroll, on which the only remaining word is "SCHORN." . . . Below the figure of Schorn remains part of the crowned head of a female under a very rich tabernacled canopy, with the word S. AUDREE inscribed over it. S. Audry, of Ely, was another popular saint of the district." (*Proceedings*, vol. i, p. 222.)

The effigy is figured in the Society's *Proceedings*. Mr. Gainsborough Dupont has, with most ready kindness, favoured me with a tracing of the panel. It differs widely from the other three known pictures. The figure is about two feet in height, wearing a gown with loose hanging sleeves, on the breast is seen a brooch by which the gown is confined. A scarf rests on the shoulders, and hangs down in front. The figure, a singularly robust figure when compared with those of the older paintings, is nude, its head bare, with hair standing on end. Over the figure of Sir John is a scroll, on which, as also in the engraving above referred to, we read the letters "... HORN," not "SCHORN," as in the detailed account.

It may be convenient to give the following short list of the painted figures of Master Schorn now known, and to add references to the publications in which they are engraved :—I, Cawston, Norfolk, *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. ii, p. 283 ; II, Gateley, Norfolk, *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. ii, p. 280; Chambers's *Book of Days*, under May 8; III, Sudbury, Suffolk (late in the possession of Gainsborough Dupont, Esq.), Bury and West Suffolk Archæol. Institute. *Proceed-*

ings, vol. i, p. 222; iv, Suffield, Norfolk, plate accompanying the present paper.

I am not aware that any sketch has been preserved of the shrine once erected at North Marston, of the painted glass figure, formerly in the east window of the church, of the painting on the walls of the holy well, or of the windows in the Lincoln Chapel, Windsor ; to which place his shrine was removed in 1478.

My doubts as to Master Schorn's connection with Canterbury, or with Shorne and Marston, near Gravesend, have increased rather than diminished, as I have inquired further into the subject. In the cases of Shorne and Marston, I suspect that the confusion is one arising out of the name of our worthy, and that of the parish of which he was the rector.

A few words must be added as to the Saints found in association with Master Schorn. At Cawston, the rood screen panels exhibit twenty figures : the twelve Apostles (including S. Matthias), S. Paul, Sir John Schorn, S. Helena, S. Agnes ; and, on the doors, SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, and Augustine. At Gateley there are but eight figures now remaining : a Pope, Henry VI, a Bishop, Master Schorn, Sancta Adria, S. Elizabeth, the B. V. Mary, and Sancta Puella Ridibown. The Sudbury panel bears two figures, Sir John and S. Audrey. At Suffield there are twelve figures : two Evangelists, two Fathers of the Church, Master John Schorn, S. Longinus, two Saints which have been identified as S. Geron, M., and S. Louis, K.C., but which may be, perhaps, S. Oswald, and S. Edmund the martyr, and four other figures. To complete the hagiology of the subject, it is only necessary to say that at North Marston, as we find from Joane Ingram's will, 1519, there were altars to SS. Katherine, John, Christopher, Anne, and Margaret.

In each of the four paintings above enumerated Sir John's head is surrounded by a nimbus. At Suffield he wears an alb (not a cassock), and over it a monastic habit with the cowl let down, and looks towards the sinister side, holding the boot away from his body. At Gateley the figure faces towards the dexter ; the boot is held in front of the body ; the gown nearly covers the feet, the fiend represented by a small figure, of which little more than the head is seen. At Cawston the fiend is somewhat like a griffin, about half-concealed, but with expanded wings as if about to escape. At

Sudbury the plump fiend carries his hands by his sides, the right hand outside the boot. In every case the right hand of Master Schorn is raised ; whether in exhortation, ob-jurgation, or as about to make the sign of the cross, I must leave to others to determine.

Perhaps some light may be thrown upon the point by a painting figured in Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders* (2nd edition, p. 206). It is a portrait of San Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first patriarch of Venice, who was born in 1380, and died in 1455. It happens, curiously enough, that he also was a great favourite with the common people, who "believed that the republic had been saved from plague, war, and famine by his prayers and intercession, and did not wait for a papal decree to exalt him to the glories of a saint. They built a church in his honour, and placed his effigies on their altars, two hundred years before his canonisation, which took place in 1690 by a decree of Alexander VIII, who was a Venetian." In a contemporary picture painted by Gentil Bellini, and preserved at Venice, in the Church of S. Maria dell' Orta, this popular saint is represented, attired in a gown, hood, and cap, with a nimbus round his head, attendant angels bearing his crosier and mitre. His right hand is raised, the thumb and the first and second fingers elevated, the other fingers closed, as in the pictures of Master Schorn ; in the left hand he holds a large closed book. It would seem from the volume in his hand, as well as from his garb and gesture, that he is in the act of preaching. I venture to think that Master Schorn also was a popular preacher, for in the pilgrims' signs discovered in London upon which his effigy appears, he is represented in a pulpit. And, as his attitude in the rood screen paintings is the same as that of San Lorenzo, we may probably venture to conclude that the artist desired to convey to us the idea that Sir John, having by some means imprisoned the evil spirit in the boot, is reading him a sharp lecture. The attitude may fairly be considered to be that of admonition,

The portraits of these two worthies are certainly interesting in comparison with one another : the posture of the figure in each case, the nimbus worn before consecration, the popular favour with which each was regarded, favour so great as to anticipate the formal act of canonisation, combine to form a curious parallel. I am indebted to my friend

Mr. Cato for bringing this picture of San Lorenzo to my notice.

Should approximate dates of the four rood screen paintings of Sir John be desired, I think we shall not be far from the truth if we arrange them in the following order :—Cawston, *circa* 1450 ; Suffield, *circa* 1450 ; Gateley, *circa* 1480 ; and Sudbury, *circa* 1550.

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 27.

THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., V.P. IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced.

T. F. Dillon Croker, Esq., 9, Pelham-place, Brompton.

W. H. Bateman, Esq., 90, Cannon-street.

Mrs. Edwin Eddison, Adel, Leeds.

James Lingard Vaughan, Esq., Heaton Norris, Stockport.

Rev. D. Hamilton Davies, M.A., 17, Clifton-villas, Maida-hill.

N. W. Lavers, Esq., Endell-street, Bloomsbury.

William Carr, Esq., Ashford Court, Ludlow.

Edwin Clarke, Esq., Ludlow.

William Nicholas, Esq., 31, Lansdown-road, Forest-road, Dalston.

The thanks of the Association were returned

To the University of Lund (Sweden) for the *Acta Univ. Lundensis* for 1865. 3 Fasciculi. Quarto.

To the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, U. S.), for their *Miscellaneous Collections*, vols. 6 and 7, and *Report for 1865*. 8vo.

To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for *Proceedings*. Vol. 6, part 1, and *Appendix*. Small quarto.

The Essex (U.S.) *Institute for Historical Notice*, of 1866. 8vo. *Historical Collections*. Vols. 1-7. 8vo. *New England Congregationalism*, by Daniel Appleton White. 8vo. 1861. *The Weal Reaf*. Small quarto. 1860.

To the Cambrian Archaeological Association, for the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Nos. 51 and 52. 3rd series. 8vo.

To the Sussex Archaeological Society, for *Collections*. Vol. 19. 8vo. 1867.

To the Archaeological Institute, for *Archæological Journal*. No. 92. 8vo.

To the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, for *Quarterly Journal*, for vol. 5. No. 53. New series. 8vo.

To the Canadian Institute, for the *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art*. No. 65. New series. 8vo.

To *Joseph Stevens, Esq.*, for a Descriptive list of Flint Implements found at St. Mary Bourne. 1867. 8vo.

To *M. G— Ch. Rossier*, for Notice sur le Majus Chronicon Fontanelle. 1867. 8vo.

To *W. Griffith, Esq.*, for a History of Wales, 1867. Small 8vo.

To *Ralph Carr, Esq.*, for Essay on the Symbolism of Sculptured Stones of Eastern Scotland. 1867. 8vo.

The Chairman then made a few remarks relative to the late Congress at Ludlow, stating that the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood had expressed themselves as having been much gratified by the visit of the Association, and congratulating the Society on the prospect of a prosperous session.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Hon. Treasurer, laid upon the table some notices of the *Notabilia of the Archaeology and Natural History of the Mersey district during the years 1863, 1864, and 1865*, by Henry Ecroyd Smith; of the *Reliquiæ Isuriani*, a work upon the remains of Isurium (Aldborough, co. Yorkshire), and of some chromo-lithographs of Romano-British pavements there and at Leicester, all by the same author. Mr. Hills also called attention to the important archaeological investigations being now carried on in Brittany, in which the Rev. W. C. Lukis had taken a considerable interest and borne a prominent part. He also stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Lukis, dated Nantes, 29th October, 1867, in reference to an international Celtic Congress which was held at St. Brienc, and of which some particulars will be found *post* under the head of "Antiquarian Intelligence."

The Chairman exhibited a photograph of a wooden chair in Hereford cathedral which he said was generally supposed to have been used for the enthronization of a bishop. He remarked that it bore a considerable resemblance to chairs represented in MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon period, and that joinery of a similar description was prevalent in England in the twelfth century, as would be found upon reference to his *Archæological Album*. From that period it appeared to have fallen into disuse till the time of Henry VIII, when it was known by the name of "Flemish joinery." He thought that the Hereford chair might probably be of the twelfth century.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills compared the chair with the Anglo-Saxon doorways at Stanton-Lacey and Monk Wearmouth, and a table which he had seen at Burtley Farm, near Haselmere in Surrey. From certain differences which he pointed out between these objects and the Hereford chair, he was of opinion that the latter was of a much later date than that attributed to it by Mr. Wright, and was not earlier than the time of Elizabeth or of James I. He promised to lay his drawings of the doorways and table before the Association at a future



meeting, and if the subject was thought sufficiently important to enter into it more fully hereafter.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited on the parts of the owners certain objects which will be found described in the following remarks, which he read upon them.

"Mr. J. Edmonds has brought to our notice a late Lancashire deception—the pretended discovery in a Roman road at Blackstone Edge, near Rochdale, of a Tyrrheno-Phœnician vessel, and lamps of Roman type. The former is an *argyallos* for perfume or ointment, of pale fawn coloured terra-cotta, 3 ins. high, dating from 600 to 700 B.C. The lamp is of highly fired reddish-brown earth, much like the ware of the old Japan teapots, and if genuine is of very uncommon occurrence. It weighs rather over four ounces.

"Dr. J. Harker has transmitted the following note on a German jetton of the sixteenth century: "On March 13th Mr. Blashill exhibited a counter which in design resembles one found during the removal of earth to widen a road at the base of the Castle Hill, Lancaster, and which now belongs to Edward G. Paley, Esq. The legend differs from that of Mr. Blashill's. It is GOTTS REICH BLIET EWICK (God's kingdom is everlasting). Device, conjoined triangle and trefoil enclosing a monde and cross; *rev.*, a wreath surrounded by three fleurs-de-lys, and three crowns alternating, HANNS KRAWWINCKEL IN NVR.; this NVR. indicating Nuremberg, being more clear than that on Mr. Blashill's coin."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that though Hans Krauwinkel and Wolf Lanfer generally indicated their place of abode by *Nu.* or *Nur.*, their contemporary, Hans Schultes, was more liberal with his letters, some of his counters reading HANS SCHVLTES IN NORNBERG.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a trader's token reading,—*obv.*, WILLIAM KEPIN AT THE (Swan in the Field); *rev.*, ST OLIVE STREET, 1658. In the field, W.^{KA}. "This token is not in the Beaufoy cabinet. But few of the inhabitants of St. Olive's, or Tooley-street, Southwark, seem to have issued tokens. In addition to those of W. Kepin, there are, however, pieces of Nicholas Barnard, 1654; Matthew Pearce, a mealman at the sign of the Wheat Sheaf; S. E. S. at The Three Cranes (birds); and M. C. at The Three Tobacco Pipes. There are likewise tokens bearing the sign of the pump; and Ambrose Butler, a corn-dealer at St. Olive's, Watergate, had "his halfpenny." Beside the signs noted on the foregoing tokens, there is record of The Walnut Tree, The Frying Pan (where dwelt Nicholas Brook, the coffee-mill maker); and The Royal Oak, the only old sign now remaining in Tooley-street."

Mr. John Wimble exhibited two earthen vessels exhumed last summer from the old Wall Brook, Budge-row, Cannon-street. Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that the meeting had before it two examples of pottery of great interest and rarity, well deserving careful exami-

nation. The earliest was found in dry soil, thirteen feet below the roadway, and though injured by the pick is perfect in contour. It is a sort of *olla*, seven inches and a quarter high, and seven inches in diameter at its greatest swell: the opening of the mouth is two inches and three-quarters in diameter, and round it is a tolerably thick lip. High on the shoulder is a cylindric spout about half an-inch long and five-eighths of an-inch in diameter at the opening, bringing to mind the Tyrrheno-Phœnician *askos*. Round the shoulder are fourteen perpendicular lines of waved feathery brush-streaks of peroxide of iron. The base rim is impressed with the thumb, much in the style of some of the British pottery of the fourth century. The paste is rather sandy, and of a greenish stone colour, and the vessel, though of somewhat rude fabric, was clearly turned on the wheel, and kiln-baked. Mr. Cuming felt no hesitation in assigning this specimen to the same era and manufactory as the two little cups found respectively in Fenchurch-street, 1833, and corner of Lombard and Gracechurch-streets, 1865, exhibited by himself and Mr. Baily, and described in this *Journal*, xxii, 316. The most marked peculiarity in these several examples is the employment of peroxide of iron in their decoration, and this peculiarity offers a clue to their place of manufacture. During the month of May, 1866, the Rev. S. M. Mayhew carried on extensive researches on the sites of ancient kilns in the New Forest, Hants, and at a spot called Crockle our associate exhumed the fragments of a large *calinus*, the interior surface of which is painted in peroxide of iron with a chevron, bordered above and below with a broad band, the whole one inch wide. Mr. Cuming produced a portion of this dish, the paste of which is identical with the Budge-row *olla*. After a critical comparison of the three vessels found in London with the Hants *calinus*, there seems no reason to doubt that they are all wrought of the same clay, painted with the same metallic oxide, and were all fired in the same *fornax*. Their date being probably as late as the fourth century. We well know that the early denizens of the capital derived much of their fictile ware from Kent and Northampton, and can therefore readily believe that the potters of Hampshire would also find a mart for their wares in the vicinity of the Thames.

The other vessel exhibited by Mr. Wimble was met with in black soil, fifteen feet deep, and is a large pitcher, which, even with much of a neck broken off, measures close on a foot in height. The neck is about three and three-quarter inches in diameter. Traces of a stout, round handle are visible on the shoulder of the globular body, which is eight inches in diameter, and rests on a spreading base with a somewhat convex bottom, a feature not uncommon in these early vessels. The paste is of a dingy reddish-brown hue, the exterior surface nearly covered with a dark green glaze, and the body decorated with a great

chevron band of twelve points, of a deep red colour, adorned with pellets of white slips. Mr. Cuming, in assigning this pitcher to the eleventh century, took occasion to state that a fragment of such an object was found in Clement's-lane, Lombard-street, in 1819; and that in the year 1857, a similar pitcher was recovered from the Thames near the site of Battersea-bridge along with other tall earthen vessels of the same age.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited paintings of Master John Schorn, illustrative of his papers on that worthy (see pp. 256-68 ante). One of these paintings was from a rood-screen at Suffield, Norfolk, the other from a panel lately in the possession of Gainsborough Dupont, Esq., of Sudbury, Suffolk, supposed to have formed part of a rood-screen in one of the churches in Sudbury. Mr. Simpson made some illustrative remarks upon the paintings, and referred to the analysis of the water of Master Schorn's well, which he was having made in order to test whether it possessed any chemical sanitary properties, which might account for the miraculous curative power formerly attributed to it.

The Chairman exhibited a cast of an intaglio from Wroxeter; the original seal, which was lately in the Museum at Shrewsbury, having been stolen by a visitor into whose hands it was temporarily placed for examination. After a few remarks upon the unprincipled conduct of the abstractor, Mr. Wright proceeded to give an account of his late operations at Wroxeter, and announced the gift of £50 by Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool, for the furtherance of the excavations there. He described the position of the "enameller's shop" and the objects most recently discovered. He then replied to questions from Messrs. R. N. Philipps and J. W. Grover with regard to the progress already made, the acreage occupied by the excavations, and the funds for future operations; and in answer to Mr. Cuming as to whether any remains had been discovered in the workshops recently disclosed which would indicate the date when they were last occupied, Mr. Wright observed that various coins, some small articles of jewelry, and human bones, seemed to afford indication of the usual occupations of the city being carried on at the time of its capture.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a "Douglas Heart," elegantly executed in silver, the property of Lord Boston, V.P., and read a communication upon it which will be given in the next number of the *Journal*.

Mr. G. Vere Irving observed that although the devices on this reliquary had a heraldic character, they could not, he thought, be explained in strict accordance with the rules of that science. He had no doubt, however, that it was connected with the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stewart, for the following reasons:—1st. The *Cross Sallires* are part of the arms of her paternal ancestors, the Earls of Lennox.

2nd. The *Basket of Apples* appears to allude to her mother, who was the daughter of Sir William Cavendish, and sister of the first Earl of Devonshire. 3rd. The *Royal Crown* may be thus explained. The Pope had formed a design of raising her to the English throne, and it is doubtful whether he did not declare her to be the lawful possessor of it. On the death of Queen Elizabeth there seems to have been an abortive conspiracy in which Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were concerned, the object of which was to assert her right thereto. 4th. The *crowned and winged heart*. The crowned heart is clearly referable to her maternal descent from the Douglasses, but the difficult question is, how did the wings come there. Mr. Cuming is right in stating that they appear attached to the crest of the queens, as being branches of the Douglas family, but they certainly were not carried by the Douglasses of Cavers. I have a strong impression that these wings are the emblems of the offices of heritable sheriff of Dumfriesshire, and especially of the Annandale portion of that country. The second title of the Duke of Queensberry was Marquis of Dumfriesshire. The same wings appear attached to the spur of the Johnstones, Earls of Annandale. The early earldoms of March and lordships of Annandale were forfeited in the reign of Robert III, and the latter title passed to the Douglasses, on whose tombs in St. Bride's Church at Douglas it frequently occurs. When the elder branch of the Douglasses was in its turn destroyed, the title reverted to the Crown, and James II created Alexander, his second son, Duke of Albany, Earl of March, *Lord Annandale*, etc. This family became extinct by the death of the last Duke without issue. Nisbet, however, states that the titles of *March* were given with the arms of that dignity to the family of Lennox and Lord Darnly. The conclusion at which he had arrived, after reviewing the whole matter, was that the reliquary refers to Lady Arabella Stewart, but was never in her possession; but that it was made a brooch under the instructions of her husband, William Seymour, with the view of containing some memento of his unfortunate bride, and hence the very loose nature of the heraldic details, taken from some verbal instructions.

Mr. Irving then read a paper "Upon Spiral Columns in Churches," and exhibited photographs of the "Prentice Pillar" at Rosslyn, the screen at Ely, and various spiral columns in churches both in England and abroad, as illustrative of his subject. He also adverted to the fact of spiral columns being often found represented on Scottish ecclesiastical seals, and expressed an opinion that they were in some way connected with the worship of the Virgin Mary.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills thought that the general prevalence of spiral columns showed that they could scarcely point distinctly to the worship of the Virgin.

Mr. R. N. Philipps instanced the spiral column in Durham Cathedral as fine examples of their kind.

Dr. William Bell exhibited engravings of iron spear heads and of various objects in metal found in Germany and Poland, and inscribed with Runic characters, and read the following observations upon them :—

“ In introducing the subject of Runes to the notice of this learned Society, it is not my intention at present to go into their meaning or the various opinions on the force and value of their individual characters. The subject is too important and too diffusive to be compressed within a single evening's lecture. It would be necessary to inquire into the origin of written characters generally, of the Tree characters of Ireland, and of her Oghams with those of Wales and Denmark, before we could arrive at the value and use of these enigmatical letters, and perhaps, in their view, as the relics of an early civilisation, the first rudiments of the Greek alphabet, of the Oscan of Ancient Italy, including Etruria, and, of course, of the Latin, and of our own.

“ From the more numerous specimens of these characters in Denmark and Sweden (where they may be counted by hundreds) it was long assumed that Runes were only found in the above two countries; an idea that can be no longer entertained, as subsequent search has found them in many parts of Germany, and I shall bring examples of their existence in Sleswig, in Posen, and many other places more northern. I pass over the discovery of Runic inscriptions in the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, and in every part of Scotland, on the sculptured stones there, of which we have such excellent delineations by Mr. Stewart for the Spalding Society. In England hitherto their use has been restricted to some grave stones at Hartlepool and Dover. In Italy these inscribed stones are confined to a single example in the knots of characters on a lion in front of the Arsenal at Venice; but as these lions were brought from Attica, as trophies, they are supposed to be the same which Pausanias describes in his earliest topography at Cheronea, of that province.

“ In a notice from the German paper published in London it is stated that Runic stones have been found on the Potomac, which may be accounted as an evidence that America was visited by the Northmen possibly a thousand years before Columbus: their early settlements in Greenland and Iceland, so near the western continent, would require little extension of their daring navigation.

“ The material on which these Runes were inscribed are generally of stone, but others occur in metal, of which the greater number were found in a large metal cauldron in the Tollens lake at Prillwitz, in Mecklenburg Strelitz, out of which I have selected a Puck as a curious illustration of Shakespeare's “*Midsummer Night's Dream*.” I have representations of three others lately discovered engraved on metal, of which I shall have the pleasure of more particularly describing the most recent.

"It is, however, not only sculptured that Runes are found; they have been used also for writing. We have many glossaries and vocabularies, as in the Exeter Book, in which Runes have been introduced. I recollect having read that in Denmark the entire code of laws of the country existed in a book entirely in Runes as late as the fifteenth century, and in Captain Brevé's *Travels in Various Parts of Europe* (2 vol., fol., London, 1712), vol. ii., p. 135, he says he saw in the Ambrosian Library at Milan a translation of Cyril's Gospels in the Runic language and character.

"I shall now give you some explanation of two of the latest discoveries, as both interesting and curious from the localities in which they were found.

"Amongst the most recent and most interesting discoveries of Runes I may particularise the following:—

"In the transactions of the Society of Antiquities of the Grand-dukedom of Posen, published in 1860, in the Polish language, p. 432, following some general treatise on Slavonic runes and the Bamberg lions with inscribed runes, is the account of the discovery of two Runic inscriptions on granite slabs, found in pulling down a house on the estate of Mikorayzn, in that province. Of these No. 1 is the most remarkable, as perhaps being the only one (except those at Prillwitz) in which I have hitherto discovered a portraying of the human figure; and additionally in the name which is given it as PROVE, the Slavonic deity of terrestrial justice and integrity; but the learned writer of these treatises, Professor Wojciech Cybulski, alluding to Helmold's Silence, or such a deity, is wrong in stating that this name and figure is in the much contested find of Slavonic idols at Prillwitz, in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which I have fully described in my *Shakespeare's Puck and his Folklore*, vol. i, vindicating a dancing satyr of the collection as a genuine archaic Puck. In this collection the *figure* is now wanting, but the *name* PROVE is found on a sacrificial knife, fig. 58, § 272, amongst others which seem to have been devoted to every particular deity of the Prillwitz or Rhetra temple; and Superintendent Masch, who described the collection, attributes the absence of the deity to its having been assayed in the melting pot to prove the metallic value of the rest; and to its intractability in giving up any of the precious metals in its composition, he ascribes the preservation of the other, and congratulates the world that thereby these valuable monuments of foregone times are now preserved. It may, therefore, not be too bold to assert this Polish stone as additional proof of the genuineness of the Puck which I have taken from the collection as one of the most archaic forms of a character which our great dramatist has worked out for one of the most wonderful of his poetic creations.

"2. The second figure described by Professor Cybulski is that of a

horse, with an inscription in Runes, which Dr. Joachim Lelewel has interpreted as an amulet against the dangers of warfare.

"Two metal plates, one discovered so far south as Nordenhof, near to Augsburg, in digging a rail-road through a pre-Romanic graveyard, with numerous beads and other ancient relics; they were exhibited by Professor Lindenschmidt, Director of the Romano-Germanic Museum at Mainz, from that collection; they have been submitted to Professor Diedrich, at Marburg, for reading and explanation, as the former privately informed me when I had the pleasure of joining, as on so many other meetings, the collected archaeological bodies of Germany, in 1865 at Halberstadt.

"To the same very learned expounder of these enigmas, who is now working on a general review of the various Runic alphabets and characters, is due the reading of the Runes on a spear-head, found very far north in Germany, at Münchenberg, near Brandenburg, in 1865, during the formation of a railroad. The find is depicted in the February number of the present year, with its interpretations, by Professor Diedrich, to whom it had been referred by the directors of the National Germanic Museum in their organ, *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, who reads it as ANG (ON?) AN, meaning as an exclamation of the weapon itself, *spear destroy* (thy enemy). A remarkable peculiarity is found in the workmanship, that the letters and some curious symbolic figures are formed by a species of niello, or inlaid work, by silver bar-rods driven into grooves previously cut for them; and the present condition of the weapon, in which some of these silver rods are melted by strong heat, and appear as small globules upon the surface, proves that the owner's body had been burned in full panoply by a heat sufficient to melt the silver, but not sufficiently powerful to reduce the iron.

"Another remarkable peculiarity is the presence of the above-named symbols similarly worked, which may tend to elucidate the meaning of the so called *Filfot*, found so universally spread amongst the hieroglyphics of Egypt; in the grave chambers of Etruria, and on the Scandinavian Runic stones and staffs, as well as on our own pre-historic coins, and those of Gaul. It is, however, found here in three varying types; in the common four bent arms; in the triangular shape, by three curved lines; and, lastly, in outline of the classical shape, in which it is frequently found in hands of Jupiter Tonans, with two forks, each of three times this threefold form of the same emblem, proving that Jove with the thunderbolt, and Thor with his mishur (mallet or hammer) are the plastic expressions of the highest supernatural power in two coeval mythologies, and might lead to some very prolific remarks with the triangle, as the numbers respectively represented by them are three, four, and six; but a subject so fruitful cannot be discussed cursorily."

Mr. Gordon M. Hills announced that Mr. Hilary Davies, of Shrewsbury, had undertaken to make a general index to all the volumes of the Journal of the Association, commencing from Vol. IV, the first three volumes having been indexed by the late Mr. Pettigrew.

Mr. Josiah Cato laid before the Society the following communication upon "Inscribed Roman Drinking Cups."

On the 13th of February, in this year, there were exhibited before this Association nine Roman drinking cups, found in the neighbourhood of Cologne, each of which was surrounded by a word or short motto, written in white letters on the black or red ground of the cup. [See *ante*, p. 100].

At the same time the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson added to that exhibition a list of similar mottos (extracted from the works of Mr. C. Roach Smith and others) which I am now able to supplement by the following series—taken from the numerous examples of such cups recently shown in the gallery devoted to the "History of Labour," in the *Exposition Universelle*, at Paris.

Inscriptions on Roman Drinking-cups at the "Exposition Universelle," Paris, 1867.

1. White and yellow, inscribed MERVV DA, found at Cologne.
2. Do. do. REPLE do. do.
3. Do. do. VIVAS do. do.
4. White, inscribed LYDE, found at Famars.
5. Do. do. AMO TE do. Cologne.
6. Do. do. VIVAS do. do.
7. Do. do. FLVERE do. Famars.
8. Do. do. IMP. COP. do. Cologne.
9. White and yellow, inscribed VIVATIS, found at Brequerecque.
10. Do. do. AVE do. do.
11. Do. do. BIBE do. do.
12. Do. do. RETLE do. do.
13. White, inscribed BIBE, found near the Rhine.
14. Do. do. DE ET DO do. do.
15. White and yellow, inscribed PETE, found near the Rhine.
16. Do. inscribed FERO VINVM TIBI DULCIS, found near the Rhine.
17. Do. inscribed, DOS, found near the Rhine.
18. Do. do. VIVAS do. do.
19. Do. do. DA MI found at Bavay.
20. Engraved BUSCILLAS OSIO LEGAS III NALIXIE MAGALV, found at the ancient cemetery of Sérancourt (Bourges) 1848.

The second and third in this list are described in the official catalogue by the word *ampoule*, all the others by the word *vase*.

The paste of the first eight was red, covered by a black glaze; that

of the fifth and thirteenth being remarkable for brilliancy. The ornament was in all cases either white, or white and yellow. The vase from Sérancourt was of a black paste, and had its inscription engraved upon it spirally (*gravé en spirale*).

In conclusion, I may note that the twenty-ninth plate in the seventh volume of the *Museo Borbonico*, published at Naples in fourteen quarto volumes, between 1824 and 1837, represents a "tazza of terra-cotta" (apparently of the sort usually known as figured Samian ware) five-and-a-half inches high, and eleven-and-a-half inches diameter, around the exterior of which, in capital letters, is the following legend:

BIBE AMICE DE MEO.

This Roman "punch bowl" is the only example of such an inscription occurring on Samian ware I have found, although the above-named great work and others may contain many yet unnoted.

DECEMBER 11.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following Associates was announced.

Ralph Carr, Esq., Hedgeley, Alnwick, Northumberland.

John Burbidge, Esq., Madge-hill, Hanwell.

Zouch Turton, Esq., Albion Cottage, Albion-road, Stoke Newington.

Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., &c., was elected a Vice-President *vice* Nathaniel Gould, Esq., deceased.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Archæological Institute, for Journal No. 93.

To the Author, the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A., F.S.A., for *Historical Notices of the Sixth and Seventh Legions*. 8vo. 1867.

To the Editor of the 'Harrow Gazette', for a pamphlet containing extracts from the *Harrow Gazette*, and entitled *Parish Registers, a plea for their preservation*. 1867.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a steel-yard weight in bronze discovered at Chesterford, in Essex, and another of uncertain locality, but said to be from Oxfordshire; also a model of the George in a metal resembling pewter; a modern Russo-Greek portable ikon of the Virgin and infant Jesus, with the upper part surmounted by cherubs; and a small wooden panel with inlaid work which had apparently formed a portion of a cabinet. On the back was affixed this inscription: "The front door of the cabinet of Oliver Cromwell,

"In which such secrets once did dwell
As sent Charles to heaven, and him to hell."

Mr. Cuming remarked that the panel was evidently not of English manufacture.

Further observations were made upon it by Messrs. T. Wright, E. Roberts, and J. Gordon Hills, and it was generally thought to be German work.

Mr. J. W. Baily said that the model of the George was no doubt the master model, from which badges in other metals were cast.

The Rev. S. F. Cresswell, of Dartford, Kent, exhibited a metal object professed to have been found in the neighbourhood of Dartford. It was of a most anomalous shape, and of a totally different type to any of the forgeries which have hitherto been exhibited, although it evidently belongs to that class of objects which has now become so numerous.

Mr. Thomas Wright laid on the table some specimens of Roman pottery found in Alice Holt Forest, near Farnham, on the property of Sir Wentworth Dilke, Bart. These, he said, had been sent to him for exhibition by C. Wentworth Dilke, Esq., who stated in a letter that he had several more in his possession, and was still collecting them. When he had made his collection more complete, he had kindly promised to forward other specimens for exhibition. Mr. Wright gave a short account of the fragments before him, but thought that he had better defer any detailed description of them till the arrival of the other specimens.

Mr. Cuming remarked that the specimens already received agreed, as far as paste was concerned, with the pottery of the fourth century, and the decorations were produced in the same way as those of the flue-tiles.

Mr. Gordon Hills produced drawings of the doorway at Monk Wearmouth, and of the Elizabethan table at Burtley Farm, referred to at the last meeting (see p. 379), and pointed out certain resemblances between them and the Hereford chair, which led him to the conclusion that the latter was of a much later date than that attributed to it by Mr. T. Wright.

Mr. T. Wright remarked, that although, as he had previously stated, the work of the chair resembled that shown in the Anglo-Saxon MSS., he by no means intended to insist upon its date being of the Saxon period. He pointed out several very perceptible differences between the bands, fillets, and other mouldings of the chair and those of the objects referred to by Mr. Hills, and was, upon the whole, inclined to attribute the chair to the Norman period.

Mr. Roberts observed, that as the chair certainly had some of the true Elizabethan features distinctly expressed in its mouldings, he thought it was certainly not earlier than Henry the Eighth's time.

Mr. J. Moore exhibited a portion of a human skull (kumbe-kephalic type?) found in a British barrow at Batecombe, four miles from Cerne

Abbey, Dorset. The os frontis measures four inches and four-twelfths across at the edges of the temporal bones, and from the nasal suture to the coronalis four inches and ten-twelfths in the curve. The forehead is exceedingly low and retreating. The thinness of the skull indicates that the person must have died young, but there is no trace of a sagittal suture.

Mr. Moore announced the partial examination of a barrow of the stone period, at Comb-Pyne, Devonshire, and produced a flint-flake found there, and a sling bullet of reddish coloured chert, picked up in the roadway. The pointed flake is three inches and a-quarter long, with a sharp edge and a broad back, and has probably been employed as a knife or dagger. The ball is of the same character as the one found at West Coker, described in this *Journal* (xviii, 393), but is rather less in size, measuring about two inches and a-quarter in diameter.¹

Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., exhibited a fine sling bullet from Scotland, upon which he offered the following observations: "The sling bullet I produce is a sphere three inches in diameter, apparently of quartz, and was presented to me by our Associate, Mr. P. Allen Fraser, who has kindly favoured me with the following memoranda respecting the discovery. Mr. Fraser states that 'it was found by Mr. Stuart, with a number of other balls, at South Persie, in the parish of Benloch, an outlying portion of the parish situated in Strathardle, about nine or ten miles from Blairgowrie, between the roads to Kirkmichael and Glenshee. All the sling stones discovered were found in *one* hut circle and in *two* holes which had been constructed for their reception. The fact that these stones were found only in *one* circle, and in pits made as hiding places, suggests to me that the circle in which they were found had been that of the chief slinger, or that it had been selected by the tribe when leaving the station as the circle where the sling stones were to be deposited. The pits were, to the best of my recollection, about sixteen inches deep and eight or ten inches wide at the top, and tapered towards the bottom. There were six at least of these holes, and all placed near the walls of the hut. These holes suggested to Mr. Stuart when they were found that they were pits into which the roof supports were placed: still the fact that they were found only in one circle appears to me to be in favour of the opinion that they were made specially for the sling stones. They were formed with rough stones set on edge, and no doubt had had coverings of stone or turf.' I do not know exactly the time when the diggings described by Mr. Fraser were made, but I think it must have been in 1865; and I went over some neighbouring hut circles in 1866."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that many of the larger stone balls found

¹ For a notice of Britannic sling-bullets, see *Journal*, xx, 76, 103.

in the graves of the Britannie tribes were in all probability originally employed tied up in leather and attached to a staff with a stout thong, like the "slung shot," or *Pogumunggon* of the Chippeway and other American Indians.¹ But this probability does not in the least militate against the theory of the Strathardle stones having been designed for the sling; indeed, their number strongly favours such a theory. Their discovery was a most remarkable one, and every English archaeologist will be grateful to Mr. Calder Marshall for having called attention to it.

After remarks by Messrs. George Wright, G. G. Adams, and the Rev. W. S. Simpson,

Mr. Calder Marshall made a few observations upon hut circles in Scotland, and promised to give a fuller description of them at a future period.

Mr. Edmonds exhibited two snuff boxes of late seventeenth century work; one of oval form, three inches and five-eighths by two inches and three-quarters, is of tortoiseshell, with ivory plaque in lid, carved with a representation of Jupiter striding an eagle, and with his lightning hurling Phaethon and his quadriga into the river Eridanus; the second box is also of oval form, two inches and three-quarters by two inches and one-eighth, and is of chiseled iron, parcel-gilt. On the lid is a representation of Venus surprised by a satyr, and attended by a dog. The sides of the box are adorned with scrolls, and the bottom with a rich cartouch.

Mr. Gordon Hills read letters from the Rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A., relative to some important archaeological investigations at which he was assisting in Brittany, and a paper received from him upon a remarkable chambered long barrow at Kerlescant, Carnac, which will be printed in the next number of the *Journal*.

Mr. Lukis also forwarded to the meeting the following observations upon "Vitrified Forts," dated Nantes, 5th November, 1867:—

"A few weeks ago an International Celtic Congress was held at St. Brieuc, department of the Côtes-du-Nord, Brittany; and during the meetings an excursion was made by the members to the vitrified fort of Pérán, a few kilometres distant from the city. By permission of the Government, to whom the fort belongs, a trench was dug across the embankment and wall, thereby revealing the construction down to the ground level. The vitrified wall ran between a bank of earth on one side, and a bank composed of loose stones and earth on the other.

As it has long been a puzzle to archaeologists to determine the period to which vitrified forts belong, I wish to state a fact, which came under our observation on this occasion, which may help to throw a little light on the subject. Embedded in the vitrified wall, and firmly attached to

¹ See *Journal*, xx, 102.

the melted stones, was a fragment of a Roman roofing tile (flanged). I was present when it was found, but cannot say from what part of the wall it came, because the labourers had completed the trench before our arrival, and it was observed among the masses of the wall which had been thrown outside. In another part of the embankment I picked up a fragment of a Roman draining tube.

This discovery may not be conclusive as to the *period* of the construction of the fort, without a further careful examination, so as to ascertain the exact position of Roman bricks in the vitrified wall; but the impression on our minds was that the fragment did not come from the upper part of the wall, and that it tended to fix a limit to the period of construction.

Questions may arise with regard to the original mode of construction—whether its present appearance is the result of accidental or deliberate destruction, or whether it was intentional and to serve a particular purpose; but into these questions I will not enter. It is the first example I have seen, and I have thought that those archaeologists who have studied these buildings would be glad to be made acquainted with the above fact, which may or may not be new.

Mr. Edward Leven read the following communication from the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A.:—

“I have the pleasure of communicating to the members of our association, from Mrs. William Oakley, of Snakescroft, Monmouth, a catalogue of a find of coins near Park End, in the forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, which, like that of Netley, so well described by Dr. De Chaumont in our Journal for 1867 (p. 168) had the characteristic of coming without any dispersion of its contents into her possession, and, therefore, affords another example of the *relative proportions* of the Roman coins in circulation at the time of the deposit, which is a circumstance of great importance in the illustration of local history. Mrs. Oakley informs me that she bought them in 1852 from the finders in a lump.

The Forest of Dean, which formerly included an area of twenty miles between the Severn on the east, and the Wye on the south-west, is well-known to have been a chief source from which the Romans derived their iron, and the cinders from their smelting operations lie scattered over miles in extent, and on both sides the Wye. An account of the vast caverns formed by the excavation of the iron ore was published so far back as 1780, by Mr. Wyrall, who remarks “that they were the toils of *many centuries*.” A further description of them, and of the present state of the iron trade in the Forest of Dean, is given in the 17th vol. of the Journal of the Archaeological Institute, pp. 227-239, by the Rev. H. G. Nicholls.¹ As might have been expected, many Roman coins and relics of pottery, &c., have been at times found among

¹ *Vide also Wanderings of an Antiquary*, by T. Wright, F.S.A., pp. 9-22.

these cinders. Mr. Nicholls mentions generally that these Roman vestiges have been found at Sydney, Alvington, Lydbrook, Perry grove, Crabtree hill, and Whitechurch, on the Wye; but no particular account of the coins of *any one find* (as far as I can learn) from the Forest of Dean has yet been made public. There is mention in the 4th vol. of the *British Archaeological Journal*, p. 73, of "a large quantity of coins" found at Lydbrook, in the Forest of Dean, in searching for sandstone, in a letter from the Rev. George Cox, of Mitchel Dean, read by Mr. Roper to our Association in 1848. It is stated that our members expressed a strong desire to obtain, through Mr. Cox, the inspection of the coins, or a catalogue of them before they were dispersed; but no account ever reached the Association, and I am informed by Mrs. Oakley that coins discovered *about that period* are still in possession of various families in that district. The coins of that "find," which Mr. Cox had *himself seen*, were those of Gallienus, Victorinus and Claudius Gothicus. In the *Isca Silurum*, or illustrated catalogue of the neighbouring Roman station of Caerleon, by Mr. J. E. Lee, are described (pp. 77, 78) twenty-two imperial coins *from the forest of Dean*, viz., two of Gallienus, 3 B; six of Postumus, B; six of Victorinus, 3 B; two of Tetricus senior, 3 B; and six of Claudius Gothicus, 3 B; but as these are intermixed with the general collection of coins, it cannot be known whether they belong to any particular find. The find from which may be gathered most information of any particular hoard of coins at all connected with the Forest of Dean, is that given by Mr. J. E. Lee in the *Isca Silurum* of a quantity found in 1860 in a quarry at Wentwood, a spot about ten miles westward of the Forest of Dean, on the other side of the Wye. The coins were estimated at between 1200 and 1300 in number, and consisted of billon denarii. From being, unfortunately, deposited in a pot or pan, which was exposed to the water, they were so cemented together that their impressions, in most cases, were untraceable. Mr. J. E. Lee succeeded with fifty-three of them, and describes them at page 83 of his *Isca Silurum*, as belonging to Gallienus, Salonina, Claudius Gothicus, Postumus, Victorinus, the Tetrici, Tacitus and Carausius. This find is now deposited in the Caerleon museum.

The "find" of which Mrs. Oakeley presents an account, consisted of upwards of nine hundred Roman coins, and her valuable catalogue describes four hundred and five—the rest being illegible. They include a description of sixty-two types of nineteen different emperors, empresses or usurpers (some of them rare) commencing with Julia Donna, and closing with Allectus, who was slain A.D. 296. We may conclude, therefore, that at all events the mines were worked by the Romans till the close of the third century. Mrs. Oakeley's remarks on the appearance of the "Meands" and "Scowles" confirm previous statements, and illustrate well the excellent description of the Roman mode of



smelting iron in the Forest of Dean, given by our associate, Mr. Thomas Wright, who writes thus: "It is supposed that layers of iron ore, mixed with limestone as a flux, were piled together and enclosed in a wall and covering of clay, with holes at the bottom for letting in the draught and allowing the metal to run out."¹

Subjoined is Mrs. Oakeley's description of the find, and the catalogue which she has made, and so kindly forwarded for publication.

"The Roman coins, of which I enclose a list, were found, with about five hundred others (too much defaced to decipher), in the Forest of Dean, by some labourers, who were engaged in digging. I could not discover the exact spot in which they were dug up, as an idea prevailed among the men that any coins found in crown lands would have to be given up to the government, but it was not far from "the Park End Iron Works," on the Coleford road. The coins were enclosed in an earthenware jar, but being corroded into a solid mass, the men broke the jar into fragments to get at the contents, and I could only succeed in securing a very small piece of it, which showed it to have been composed of coarse grey Roman pottery.

"The neighbourhood in which this find occurred is a very interesting one to an antiquarian, as it abounds in heaps of Roman cinders, and in many places shows evident marks of ancient workings, which are popularly attributed to the Romans. In some places these workings are hollowed out like large caverns, which vary considerably in depth, and give the name of "meand," or mine, to the places in which they occur. In other situations they consist of long tortuous passages open at the top, and varying in depth from two to forty or fifty feet. These are called "scowles," and are often so narrow as barely to allow room to pass. The precipitous sides of the passages are clothed with dark green moss, and are stained in places with bright red iron ore; they have been for centuries in the same state, and in 1780 Mr. Wyrall described them just as they appear at present, and mentions that Roman coins and fibulæ had been discovered in them previous to that date. In their immediate vicinity coins are often discovered, and in a similar working on Great Doward, on the opposite side of the Wye, a small brass coin of Gallienus has lately been found. The cinder heaps certainly appear to be the refuse of the Roman ironworks, for in very many places their coins have been found in and under the heaps. These iron works must have employed large numbers of men, for the workings and cinders are scattered over a considerable area of the Forest of Dean, and if they were the work of the Romans, it would account for the various hoards of Roman coins which have been from time to time found in the neighbourhood."

¹ *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 235.

"CATALOGUE OF ROMAN COINS FOUND NEAR PARK END, FOREST OF DEAN,
1852.

BY M. S. OAKELEY.

I.—*Julia Domna, wife of Severus, A.D. 217.*

No. of Descrip-
Coins. tion.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|----------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> IVLIA AVGVSTA; head to right. <i>R.</i> VENVS...LIX.; female standing. (Rare, 3) | - | - | 1... Ar. |
|--|---|---|----------|

II.—*Gordianus, 238-244 A.D.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|-------------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. GORDIANVS...L. AVG.; radiated beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> D...DIANA; female figure | - | - | 1...Æ. III. |
|--|---|---|-------------|

III.—*Phillippus.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|-------|--------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. PHILLIPPVS. AVG.; radiated, beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> AEQVITAS. AVG.; figure of Equity | - | - | 2...B. |
| 2. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> LIBERALITAS. AVGG. III; two figures seated | - | - | 1...B. |
| 3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> uncertain | - | about | 6...B. |

Total of Phillippus

9

IV.—*Trajan Decius, 249-251 A.D.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|-------------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS. DECIVS. AVG.; radiated, beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> VICTORIA. AVG.; figure of Victory | - | - | 1...Æ. III. |
| 2. <i>Ob.</i> Q... <i>R.</i> Pontifical instruments; inscription illegible | - | - | 1...B. |

Total of Trajan Decius

2

V.—*Valerianus, 253-263.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS. AVG. <i>R.</i> LIBERALITAS. AVG. III.; Liberality standing | . | . | 1...B. |
| 2. <i>Ob.</i> VALERIANVS. AVGG. <i>R.</i> figure standing between two pillars, with an instrument like a hammer in his hand; inscription illegible | - | - | 1...B. |

Total of Valerianus

2

VI.—*Gallienus, 263-268 A.D.*

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1. <i>Ob.</i> GALLIENVS. AVG.; radiated, bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> Antelope; inscription illegible | - | - | 10...Æ. III. |
| 2. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> DIANA. CONS. AVG.; ibex | - | - | 1...Æ. III. |
| 3. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> LIBERALITAS; Liberality standing | - | - | 6...Æ. III. |
| 4. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> LIBERO. CONS. AVG.; panther or lioness | - | - | 1...Æ. III. |

				No. Descriptions
5.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> FORTUNA . REDAN. ; Fortune sitting. In exergue, s.	-	-	6...Æ. III.
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> ABUNDANTIA . AVG. ; Abundance standing. In field, B.	-	-	4...Æ. III.
7.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> VICTORIA -	-	-	12...Æ. III.
8.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No 1. <i>R.</i> uncertain	-	-	20...Æ. III.

Total of Gallienus 60

VII.—*Salonina, wife of Gallienus, 268 A.D.*

1.	<i>Ob.</i> SALONINA . AVG. <i>R.</i> FECVNDITAS . AVG. ; figure standing, with two children	-	-	6...B.
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VIII.—*Saloninus, son of Salonina, 253-259 A.D.*

1.	<i>Ob.</i> SALON . VALERIANVS...B . CAES ; radiated, beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> two figures standing ; ...R. LIC...	-	-	1...B.
2.	<i>Ob.</i> P . C. (fracture in coin) VALERIANVS . NOB . CAES. ; radiated, beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> Jovi Crescenti ; figure seated on a goat	-	-	1...B.
3.	<i>Ob.</i> AL . VALERIANVS . N . C... <i>R.</i> doubtful	-	-	3...B.
4.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 2. <i>R.</i> PIETAS . AVG. ; pontifical instruments	-	-	2...B.
5.	<i>Ob.</i> P . LIC . VALERIANVS . N . CAES. <i>R.</i> same as No. 4	-	-	1...B.
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as others. <i>R.</i> uncertain, or similar	-	-	10...B.

Total of Saloninus 18

IX.—*Postumus, usurper, 258-267 A.D.*

1.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP. POSTVMVS . P . F . AVG ; radiated, bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> HERCV . DEVSO . IENS...; Hercules walking to right. (Rare)	-	-	1...Æ. III.
2.	<i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . POSTVMVS . P . P . AVG . I. <i>R.</i> P . M . T.R . P . COS . II . PP. ; soldier standing	-	-	6...Æ. III.
3.	<i>Ob.</i> same as No. 2. <i>R.</i> IOVI . VICTORI ; Jupiter moving to left	-	-	1...plated
4.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> MONETA . AVG. ; female standing	-	-	12...B.
5.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> ... ; figure of Victory	-	-	20...B.
6.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. ; figure moving to left	-	-	-
7.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. ; figure moving to right	-	-	100...B. & Æ. III.
8.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> ... ; soldier standing	-	-	-
9.	<i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> PAX . AVG. ; Peace standing	-	-	-

Total of Postumus 149

X.—*Victorinus*, 265-267, associated with *Postumus*.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . VICTORINVS . AVG. <i>R.</i> SALVS . AVG ; Hygieia holding a serpent to left ; radiated, bearded head to right	- - - -	} About 50 ; all Æ. III.
2. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . VICTORINVS . P F . AVG. <i>R.</i> PIETAS . AVG ; Piety sacrificing	- - - -	
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> INVICTVS ; Sol moving to right with whip. In field *	- - - -	
4. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> same as last, but with a figure or letter on left of field, and * on right	- - - -	
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> figure of soldier with spear	- - - -	
Total of Victorinus		50

XI.—*Marius*, 267 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . MARIVS . P . F . AVG ; radiated bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> CONCORDIA . MILITVM ; two hands joined	2...Æ. III.
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XII.—*Tetricus, senr.*, *Augustus*, 267-273 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG ; radiated, bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> SPES . PUBLICA ; Hope walking	1...Æ. III.
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> FIDES ; female with standards	1...Æ. III.
3. <i>Ob.</i> ... C . TETRICVS... <i>R.</i> figure standing ; inscription defaced ; barbarous	- - - 1...Æ. III.
4. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. <i>R.</i> Peace standing	- - -
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. Illegible and barbarous	- 15...Æ. III.

Total of Tetricus, senr. 18

XIII.—*Tetricus, junr.*

1. <i>Ob.</i> C . PIV . ESV . TETRICVS . CAES. Radiated, beardless head to right. <i>R.</i> SPES . AVG ; figure standing	1...Æ. III.
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> Pontifical instruments ; inscription illegible	- - - 1...Æ. III.
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> illegible and uncertain	- 4

Total of Tetricus, junr. 6

XIV.—*Claudius Gothicus*, 268-270.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP . C . CLAVDIVS . AVG. ; radiated bearded head to right. <i>R.</i> GENIVS . EXERCI ; figure standing, holding a crescent	- - -	} About 50 of these ; all R's, the same and in bad condition.
2. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> FIDES . EXERCI ; female, with two standards	- - -	
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> SPES... ; female standing	- - -	
4. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> inscription illegible ; figure of abundance	- - -	
5. <i>Ob.</i> same as last. <i>R.</i> soldiers with standards	- - -	

6. <i>Ob.</i> DIVO C. R. CONSECRATIO; eagle	-	-	20
7. <i>Ob.</i> same as 7. R. CONSECRATIO; altar	-	-	-
Total of Claudius Gothicus			70

XV.—*Quintillus*, 270 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. C. M. AVR. CL. QVINTILLVS. AVG.; radiated, bearded head to right R. PROVIDENTIA; figure standing. In field T. Rare.	-	-	4...Æ. III.
2. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. QVINTILLVS. AVG. R. soldier standing, ins. illegible. In exergue P. or B. Rare	-	-	2...Æ. III.
3. <i>Ob.</i> same as No. 1. R. SECVRITAS. AVG.; female leaning on a column, holding a spear. In field XI.	-	-	2...Æ. III.
Total of Quintillus			8

XVI.—*Probus*, 276-282 A.D.

1. <i>Ob.</i>PROBVS. P. F. AVG.; radiated, beardless head to right. R. FIDES. MILITVM; figure with two spears or trophies	-	-	10...Æ. III.
2. IMP. C. PROBVS. P. F. AVG. R. TEMPO. FELIC; female with spear and caduceus	-	-	

XVII.—*Carinus*, 282-285.

1. <i>Ob.</i> M. AVR. CARINVS. NOB. CAES; radiated, beardless head to right. R. PRINCIPI. IVVENTVT. In exergue KAE	-	-	1
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XVIII.—*Carausius*, 287, killed by *Allectus*.

1. <i>Ob.</i> I. C...CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG; radiated, bearded head to right. R. PAX. AVGG; peace standing. In field PP. In exergue C.	-	-	1
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XIX.—*Allectus*, 293-296.

1. <i>Ob.</i> IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG; radiated, bearded head to right. R. PAX. AVG; female standing. In field S.P. In exergue, a letter, but uncertain	-	-	1
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"RECAPITULATION.

	Types	Coins		Types	Coins
I. Julia Domna	-	1	XII. Tetricus Senior	5	18
II. Gordianus	-	1	XIII. Tetricus Junior	3	6
III. Phillippus	-	3	XIV. Claudius Gothicus	7	70
IV. Trajan Decius	-	2	XV. Quintillus	-	8
V. Valerianus	-	2	XVI. Probus	-	10
VI. Gallienus	-	8	XVII. Carinus	-	1
VII. Salonina	-	1	XVIII. Carausius	-	1
VIII. Saloninus	-	6	XIX. Allectus	-	1
IX. Postumus	-	9			
X. Victorinus	-	5			
XI. Marius	-	1			
				62	405

"Besides these, I had about five hundred, quite illegible, and many of them in a solid mass."

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The attention of our associates is called to an important archaeological meeting, which was held at St. Brieuc, in Brittany, from the 15th to 19th October, under the name of the *International Celtic Congress*. It has been established "de chercher à rapprocher les membres de la grande famille des Celtes, Gaëls, et Bretons en rétablissant leur commune origine, par la comparaison de leurs mœurs, de leurs habitudes, de leur langage et l'ensemble des événements qui forment leur histoire." It is scarcely necessary to point out the great interest and value of such a society, and we are glad to say that a committee has been appointed for the purpose of organising a second congress, to be held in 1868 in Finistère, most probably at Quimper. A society called *l'Association Celto-Breton* has also been formed, whose object will be the study of Celtic history and monuments. These societies intend to publish an annual volume of their proceedings, in the shape of a review; each member to be entitled to a copy *gratis*, the subscription to the society being ten francs; and they cordially invite the adhesion and co-operation of all who are interested in archæological pursuits, and of all societies whose objects are of a kindred nature to their own. The Rev. W. C. Lukis, who was present at the Congress which has been already held, describes several most interesting discoveries which he has himself made, among which may be mentioned an ancient manufactory of pottery—probably of the bronze or iron age—on the edge of the beach in the bay of Plouharnel. He has also furnished us with an account of a curious chambered *tumulus* in the parish of Carnac, which will appear in our next number. The members of the committee are the following: *For Paris and Foreign parts*, Mr. Henry Martin and Mr. Charles de Gaulle. *For Côtes du Nord*, Messrs. Geslin de Bourgogne, Gautier du Mottay and Prosper Huguët. *For Finistère*, Vicomte de la Villemarqué. *For Ille-et-Vilaine*, Mr. de la Borderie. *For Morbihan*, Dr. Closmadec. *For Loire Inférieure*, M. de Kersabiec.

The importance of subjects treated of at the late Congress will be shown in the following question, which was then discussed: "Are the megalithic monuments the exclusive works of the Celts? What light is thrown upon these monuments by, 1st, local traditions; 2ndly, written traditions. What date is it possible to assign to these monuments, as well as to the objects which they enclose?" And one of the principal objects of the Society will be to compare the megalithic monuments of the continent with those of the isles of Europe, so far as relates to their external characters, their construction, their contents and the

sculptures on their walls; and to point out, classify and translate ancient writings in which mention is made of these monuments in Gaul, Great Britain, &c.

“RECUMBENT FIGURES IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,” by Mr. Albert Hartshorne (the son of our late lamented associate, the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne) is a work in every way worthy of the patronage and careful study of all archaeologists and those who are interested in ecclesiastical, heraldic, or genealogical lore. They consist of a series of photographs from scale drawing, by the author, with letter-press descriptions. Two parts are already issued, and contain six subjects in each part, the author intending to complete the series in sixteen parts. They are published by Messrs. Cundall & Fleming, of New Bond street, price ten shillings each number, and as they exhibit great artistic skill and beauty of treatment, combined with the utmost fidelity of detail, they will, no doubt, recommend themselves extensively, not only to the inhabitants of Northamptonshire, but to all those who love and reverence those magnificent memorials of monumental art with which her churches abound.

It will also interest archaeologists to know that the *Notabilia of the Archaeology and Natural History of the Mersey district during 1863, 1864 and 1865*, by Henry Ecroyd Smith, is now published. It comprises notices of several of the most remarkable antiquarian objects which have been discovered in the neighbourhood of which it treats, and also of any specimens of animal or vegetable life which seem to demand any special particular attention. It is in the form of a thick illustrated 8vo. pamphlet (price 2s. 6d.) and is reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, with the sanction of the Council.

Other works by the same author are the *Reliquiæ Isuriarum*, illustrative of the history and antiquities of Aldborough, in Yorkshire, and *Chromo-lithographic Plates of the Romano-British Remains* there, all of which are well executed and of considerable value.

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ERRATA.

- P. 81 *note*, for "Charles Hensman" (*bis*) read "Charles Henman, junr."
 P. 166 l. 4, for "opium" read "ossium."
 P. 216 l. 7, for "sixteen feet" read "sixteen inches."
 P. 224 *note*, for "Launus" read "Lunnus."
 P. 245 l. 24, after "reason" insert "to."
 P. 256 l. 20, for "shrine" read "sign."
 P. 260 l. 6, for "Dr. London's" read "Dr. Stockesley's."
 P. 261 l. 35, for "S. Sikie's" read St. Sithe's" (i.e. St. Osyth's).
 P. 262 l. 22, for "rebilt" read "rebell."
 P. 264 l. 18, for "up" read "ys."
 P. 266 l. 37, for "country" read "county."
 „ l. 42, for "Gawston" read "Cawston."
 P. 276 l. 5, for "plate 1" read "plate xiv."
 „ l. 19, for "plate 2" read "plate xiv."
 P. 380 l. 16, for "Isuriani" read "Isurianæ."
 P. 385 l. 12, for "enigmatical" read "enigmatical."



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